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John Adams and the Western Appeal: Advocates of the protest tradition

David Vasser Taylor
University of Nebraska at Omaha

JOHN ADAMS AND THE WESTERN APPEAL: ADVOCATES OF THE PROTEST TRADITION

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David Vassar Taylor
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Graduate Committee

Name	Department
A. Stanley Trickett	History
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PREFACE

It was Providence which led me to the Massachusetts State Library in Boston on the afternoon of November 17, 1970. I had travelled two thousand miles in search of non-existent copies of the Boston Guardian, a black weekly once edited by William Monroe Trotter. Despite my effort I was informed that its holdings had mysteriously disappeared ten years before. However, in a gesture of appreciation for the distance that I had travelled I was supplied with a copy of Stephen Fox's The Guardian of Boston: William Monroe Trotter (Atheneum Press, 1970). While zealously devouring its pages I came upon a reference to a race journal called The Appeal edited by John Q. Adams of Saint Paul, Minnesota.

Immediately upon returning to Saint Paul, my home, I inquired at the Minnesota Historical Society of such a journal and found a relatively complete holding of The Appeal for thirty-seven years. Further inquiry revealed two other works which dealt tangentially with The Appeal and its editor: Earl Spangler's The Negro in Minnesota (Minneapolis: Denison & Company, 1961) and Daniel Mikel's "A History of Negro Newspapers in Minnesota 1876-1963," an unpublished Master's thesis. Neither of these works dealt appreciably with Adams' role in the vanguard of black

activism locally or nationally. Thus with the encouragement and guidance of Dr. Harl Dalstrom, University of Nebraska at Omaha, I began this limited biographical sketch of John Quincy Adams.

The intent of this paper is to explore the multi-dimensional character of John Adams. I have endeavored to reflect upon Adams, the man, the editor, and the black activist. I have also endeavored to place John Adams in perspective with his contemporaries so that the strengths and weaknesses of this unique individual may be appreciated. I have purposely excluded a discussion of Adams' political activity because it merits greater emphasis than can be given in this paper.

Contemporary accounts of black activism in the latter nineteenth century and early twentieth century seldom if ever include the upper Midwest nor extend research further than Chicago or St. Louis. Yet a significant intellectual and vocal community existed in Saint Paul at the turn of the century. In fact, Saint Paul was often visited by blacks of national renown and provided funds for the testing of class legislation. It also produced men whose talents supported the black protest tradition in its darkest hours. I believe that any group of men which produces a nationally recognized newspaper publisher, a state legislator, a minister to Liberia, members and officers of the Afro-American League, Afro-American Council, and the Niagara

Movement, a future officer of the NAACP, and a host of outstanding lawyers deserves recognition. Fearing that these early midwest pioneers of the protest tradition might be lost to posterity and hoping that future researchers might carry my research further I submit this thesis. Of necessity I have been indulgently interpretative. Any errors in fact are those of accident and not of intent; so too are mistakes in judgment or interpretation.

I would like to extend my appreciation to the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society and especially to Keeno Alveraz, head of the newspaper room without whose assistance this paper would have never been completed. More importantly I extend thanks to the black citizens of Saint Paul whose time, help, enthusiasm and concern for their history was an inspiration to me. I owe special thanks to Harold Muir of Omaha who laboriously proofread the manuscript, offered advice, and on occasion bolstered my flagging spirit. Lastly, I owe a special debt of gratitude to my parents who upon reading the manuscript suggested that if it was not a best seller, it was nevertheless easy to read.

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CHAPTER I

The First Coming

On August 6, 1886 John Quincy Adams stepped from the train on to the railway platform at Saint Paul, Minnesota. The journey from Louisville, Kentucky had been long and exhausting. Behind him laid years of political frustration in the heartland of the reconstruction South; ahead an ostensibly temporary position with The Western Appeal, Saint Paul's fledgling black newspaper. Anticipating Adams' arrival was James Kidd Hilyard, a prominent local Negro businessman. It was Hilyard's personal invitation coupled with reversals in Adams' political fortunes that led him at the age of thirty-eight to settle in Saint Paul.[1]

The Western Appeal, beset with severe financial and managerial problems, was limping into its second year of existence. Established on the premise of racial uplift rather than the profit motive, only the most determined effort of its staff and community had kept it from completely floundering the first year. The Western Appeal lacked the editorial aggressiveness crucial in building a large circulation. Moreover, its initial declaration of political

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[1] The Appeal, September 24, 1910.

independence deprived it of strong partisan subsidies so important to the existence and the development of northern black newspapers.[2] As The Western Appeal's news correspondent in Louisville for the past year, Adams was aware of the paper's difficulty. He himself had been the proprietor and brilliant editor of the successful but short-lived (Louisville) Bulletin. In this endeavor Adams had acquired a reputation for bold editorials and a unique flair in journalism, qualities which undoubtedly influenced James Hilyard to invite him to settle in Saint Paul. Seeing no immediate future in the South, John Adams accepted the invitation. On August 14, 1886 he was formally made an associate of the Appeal Publishing Company.[3]

John Quincy Adams was one of four surviving offspring of the Reverend Henry Adams, the well-known and revered minister of the Fifth Street Baptist Church of Louisville, and Margaret Priscilla Corbin of Chillicothe, Ohio.[4] Henry Adams was born in Franklin County, Georgia on December 17, 1802. His father, John Adams, a native of Ireland, was

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[2] Ibid.; Emma Lou Thornbrough, "American Negro Newspapers 1880-1914" Business History Review, Vol. 40 (1966), p. 472.

[3] The Appeal, September 24, 1910; Alix J. Muller, History of the Police and Fire Departments of the Twin Cities (Minneapolis-Saint Paul: American Land and Title Register Association, 1899), p. 153.

[4] The Appeal, October 28, 1899; Personal Interview with Mrs. Idina (Adams) Gibbs, surviving daughter of John Q. Adams, of Minneapolis, Minnesota, taken at her home, December 18, 1970.

brought to America as a child and reared among Quakers. Little is known about John Adams' wife except the fact that she was of mixed blood, Spanish, Indian and Negro.[5] At an early age Henry Adams was said to have demonstrated an "extraordinary sprightliness of mind." He was converted, baptized and licensed to preach the Baptist faith at the age of eighteen. In 1825 Henry Adams was ordained into the Baptist ministry and settled in North Carolina where he held the pastorate of a white church. Later with letters of recommendation from many state legislators and other prominent North Carolinians, Henry Adams migrated to Louisville in 1826, where he was installed as pastor of the First Baptist Church. Initially ministering to both the white and black branches of that congregation, upon his own request in 1829, he was appointed as pastor exclusively of the black congregation. In April of 1842 the black congregation of the First Baptist Church was constituted as a separate organization of 475 members. It became an independent religious body in 1846 under the name of Green Street Church, later changed to the Fifth Street Baptist Church.[6] This congregation was the first colored Baptist church in

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[5]J. H. Spencer, A History of Kentucky Baptists Vol. II (Cincinnati: J. H. Spencer, 1886), p. 657; Interview, Idina (Adams) Gibbs; The Appeal, February 1, 1902.

[6]Spencer, A History of Kentucky Baptists, p. 657. According to an account reprinted in The Appeal, February 1, 1902, Henry was converted at the age of ten, began to preach at sixteen and was ordained at twenty.

Louisville and the second such body in the state of Kentucky.[7]

The Reverend Henry Adams remained pastor of the Fifth Street Baptist Church for thirty-five years until his death on November 3, 1872. Of the things remembered about his pastorate was his devotion to his black congregation and his concern for their uplift and education. It is unknown whether Henry Adams had any formal education. Available sources indicate that he was a man of intense intellect, steeped in biblical scholarship and a master of several dead languages. Prior to the Civil War, his intense desire for the betterment of black people led him to establish a school on his property dedicated to the instruction of colored children. It was then unlawful to educate a slave in Kentucky, yet the state legislature adopted a special act permitting Adams, a free man of color, to instruct other free blacks and those slaves whose masters consented.[8] Adams, his wife and children often served as instructors in this school. After the Civil War Adams lobbied for the establishment of a state-supported institution for the instruction of black children. His efforts culminated in the establishment of the State University at Louisville and Echstein

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[7]Spencer, A History of Kentucky Baptists, p. 657-658; Interview, Idina (Adams) Gibbs; The Appeal, February 1, 1902.

[8]The Appeal, February 1, 1902.

Norton University at Cain Spring, Kentucky.[9]

The respect and esteem in which the Reverend Henry Adams was held by both the black and white communities is reflected in the privileges accorded him. He was often sought out to preach in the white churches of the city and was entertained in the better homes. Moreover, Adams was the recipient of a special pass which allowed him as a free man of color to ride the streetcars of Louisville.[10]

Henry and Margaret Corbin Adams were married in Chillicothe, Ohio in 1844. Mrs. Adams was a mixture of French, Indian and Negro blood. Although ten children were born of this union, five perished in infancy and early childhood. A son, Joseph, died at the age of eighteen thereby leaving only Susan, John, Mary and Cyrus alive at maturity. John Quincy Adams was born on May 4, 1848 and was reared in one of the finest Christian homes in Louisville. He received his early instruction from his father, a stern disciplinarian, who believed in the revelations of the Bible and their spiritual application. At an early age John Adams was instructed in the art of self-discipline and steadfastness in paths of truth.[11] He received his elementary and secondary education in private schools at Fond du

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[9] Ibid.; Interview, Idina (Adams) Gibbs.

[10] The Appeal, February 1, 1902.

[11] Ibid., October 28, 1899; September 16, 1922; Interview, Idina (Adams) Gibbs.

Lac, Wisconsin and Yellow Springs, Ohio, later graduating from Oberlin College. Upon graduation he returned to Louisville where he entered public life by teaching in his father's school and then in other parts of the state.[12]

Whereas the Reverend Henry Adams was acclaimed for his spirituality, his son demonstrated at an early age a preference for politics. John Adams was an avid Republican. So complete was his devotion to the party of emancipation that it became one of the driving forces of his life and consequently the source of future criticism leveled against him. He was often quoted as saying, "The Republican party is the ship. All else is sea," a phrase originally attributed to Frederick Douglass. Too young to be an active participant in the Civil War, Adams had reached his majority by the reconstruction years. In 1870 he left his family and comfortable home in Louisville to seek his political fortune in Arkansas.

John Adams began his political career as a teacher in Little Rock, progressing in short time to the position of Assistant Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Arkansas. This appointment was undoubtedly owed to the influence of his uncle, Joseph C. Corbin, then

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[12]The Appeal, September 16, 1922; February 1, 1902.

Superintendent of Public Instruction.[13] Adams became even more enmeshed in state politics in the following years, serving twice as secretary to the Republican state conventions. In the presidential campaign of 1872 Adams, appearing on the same ticket with President Grant, was elected as a Justice of the Peace.[14] Before the Democratic resurgence of 1876 forced his retirement and return to Louisville, he served successively as Engrossing Clerk of the State Senate, and Deputy Commissioner of Public Works.[15]

Although experiencing a temporary setback in politics, Adams' political acumen was not to be denied. Returning to Louisville he entered the public school system where he taught for several years. During this period he rose within the inner councils of the local Republican party, eventually serving on both the city and state executive committees. In 1880 his earnest partisan zeal won him the coveted position of alternate delegate to the Republican National Convention. Under the Garfield-Arthur administration Adams was rewarded with an appointment in the United States Revenue Service as Granger and Storekeeper in the Fifth

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[13] The Appeal, September 16, 1922; Muller, History of the Police and Fire Departments, p. 153; I. Garland Penn, The Afro-American Press (Springfield Massachusetts: Willey & Company, 1891), p. 237.

[14] Muller, History of the Police and Fire Departments, p. 153; Penn, The Afro-American Press, p. 237.

[15] Muller, History of the Police and Fire Departments, p. 153.

Kentucky District. Unfortunately, with the election of Grover Cleveland to the Presidency in 1884, Adams' second political ascent came to an abrupt end.[16]

Although his political career ended prematurely in 1885, the most significant turning point in Adams' life occurred a few years earlier. Pooling their resources John Adams and his brother, Cyrus Field Adams, began the publication of the Louisville Bulletin in 1879. It was "a weekly newspaper devoted to the interest of the Afro-American race" and in a short time was recognized as a leader among journals of its class.[17] The Bulletin ran for seven successful years and Adams employed it to good advantage in bolstering his political career. His creativity and vigorous editorials were well known in Louisville. At his behest in 1880 the first Afro-American Press Association assembled in that city and John Adams was elected as its initial president. He served in that capacity for two years.[18]

The exact reasons for the decline of The Bulletin are unknown but were perhaps tied with Adams' waning political fortune. In addition, Cyrus Adams departed for an extended tour of Europe in 1884, leaving John Adams as

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[16]Muller, History of the Police and Fire Departments, p. 153; Penn, The Afro-American Press, p. 237.

[17]The Appeal, March 19, 1898.

[18]Muller, History of the Police and Fire Departments, p. 153; The Appeal, February 9, 1901; Penn, The Afro-American Press, p. 238.

sole manager of the newspaper. Adams continued publishing The Bulletin until 1886 whereupon he sold his interest to The American Baptist.[19] In the summer of 1886 Adams accepted Hilyard's invitation to come to Saint Paul.

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[19]The Appeal, September 16, 1922; Muller, History of the Police and Fire Departments, p. 153; Penn, The Afro-American Press, p. 237.

CHAPTER II

The Making of an Empire

> THE WESTERN APPEAL - Published in the city of Saint Paul, Minnesota will be issued in the interest of the Negro race, and it is the purpose of the management to make it a representative paper in every particular. We will deal with all questions of interest to the race political and social. Its columns will not be open to the discussion of personal grievances of a private nature, but will contain correspondance each week from leading cities of the country. Encourage us, and take the "Appeal."[1]

The Western Appeal made its debut on Friday, June 5, 1885. In the months prior to its issue Samuel E. Hardy and John T. Burgett, co-founders and part owners of the enterprise, by pooling their resources and soliciting subscriptions among friends, managed to raise a few hundred dollars for type and accessories.[2] Securing a room in the Lambert Block building at Third and Cedar streets, Saint Paul, they engaged F. D. Parker, who had recently arrived from Washington D.C., as editor. Devoid of the ceremonies which usually accompany such occasions but with the well wishes of the

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[1] The Western Appeal, June 13, 1885.

[2] It should be noted that T. H. Lyles and J. K. Hilyard, both local black businessmen provided considerable moral and financial backing for The Western Appeal. Without their assistance the paper might have been stillborn. It is believed that T. H. Lyles was personally worth about one hundred thousand dollars most of which was made in real estate speculation.

community and Mayor Edmund F. Rice, Saint Paul's first successful black newspaper was born.[3]

The Western Appeal germinated in fertile soil. The Afro-American community of Saint Paul - Minneapolis was a highly literate, cohesive, and stable community. Above all it was a prosperous community with many black professionals, businessmen, and others working principally in service-related trades. For the most part its citizens could afford to purchase and read the paper.[4] Moreover, isolated on the upper Mississippi out of the mainstream of American life, the black community displayed an avid interest in the affairs of the nation. The Afro-American community of the Twin Cities, whose number by 1885 had increased to approximately 1400 souls, had need of a vehicle for the dissemination of community news and protest. The Western Appeal was established to fulfill a need long ignored by the white

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[3]There were several known attempts to launch a black newspaper in Saint Paul which predated the founding of The Western Appeal. According to the Saint Paul Daily Dispatch of September 23, 1876, a black newspaper called the Western Appeal (not to be confused with the enterprise of 1885) appeared about that time. Its editors and dates of publication are unknown. Again in the Minneapolis Tribune of February 11, 1880 mention is made of a colored newspaper by the name of the Saint Paul Review. It appears to have been equally as ephemeral as its predecessor. (Earl Spangler, The Negro in Minnesota Minneapolis: T. S. Denison & Company, 1961, p. 60-61.) In an article printed in the New York Globe November 24, 1883, intended to inform Afro-Americans of the east coast about activities in Saint Paul, E. P. Wade was credited with the editorship of the Northwest Review.

[4]Spangler, The Negro in Minnesota, pp. 68-74.

press.[5]

The founding of The Western Appeal was indicative of a national resurgence of black journalism in the post Reconstruction period. Such newspapers were conceived as tools for the advancement of literacy, the expression of grievances, and general racial uplift. They reflected a desire of the Afro-American to place his case before the nation in an attempt to obtain legal redress through protest. In general these weeklies appealed to the conscience of well-meaning whites and attempted to inspire the more unfortunate and oppressed of the race to better themselves socially, economically, and intellectually.[6]

Although hundreds of race journals were established before 1880, few survived to celebrate their first anniversary. According to one study of the black press,

> a conspicious characteristic of American Negro newspapers was the large number which were started and their low rate of survival. Many were so ephemeral that only their names survived. Others were so obscure that not even this evidence of their existence remains . . . So far as it has been possible to ascertain no Negro newspaper founded before 1880 survived until 1914.[7]

The high percentage of failure was due to the low level of Negro income and a national literacy rate for the race which in the 1880's averaged only 30 per cent. In the South few

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[5]The Appeal, September 24, 1910.

[6]Thornbrough, "American Negro Newspapers," p. 489.

[7]Ibid., p. 467.

Negro newspapers survived because of the greater rate of illiteracy and more widely dispersed black population in that region. In the North black newspapers proliferated because of higher literacy, a more accessible body of readers, larger per capita income, and financial subsidizing by the Republican party.[8] More often than not politics were certainly more important than other considerations.[9] Of the newspapers founded after 1880 and which achieved regional or national prominence only nine were still in existence in 1914. The Western Appeal was one.[10]

Initially The Western Appeal, a six-column folio, was released every Friday. This potpourri contained national and international news, black national news, local news, reprints from other newspapers pertaining to racial issues and alleged injustices, editorials, advertisements and a literary page. It was offered to the public for the nominal subscription of two dollars per year, payable in advance.[11] Correspondents were procured from regional cities such as Minneapolis, Chicago, and Louisville to supply The Western

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[8] Ibid., p. 472.

[9] Ibid., p. 479.

[10] Ibid., p. 468. Other black newspapers of this class were the Washington Bee, the New York Age, the Philadelphia Tribune, the Cleveland Gazette, the Richmond Planet, the Savannah Tribune, and the Indianapolis Freeman.

[11] The Western Appeal, June 20, 1885; The Appeal, September 24, 1910.

Appeal's columns with current news.[12]

Unfortunately, despite the enthusiasm displayed by its staff, "sodalities" and benefits given by the community for its support, The Western Appeal experienced recurring financial problems. Presumably disgruntled with The Western Appeal's management and more so with his partners, F. D. Parker resigned as editor in December 1885.[13] Parker's resignation as editor precipitated a crisis which necessitated reorganization. Hoping to regain their investment in an apparently poor business venture, on January 16, 1886 Hardy and Burgett disposed of their interest in The Western Appeal to the newly-formed Appeal Publishing Company composed of T. H. Lyles, president, and J. K. Hilyard, secretary and treasurer. F. D. Parker was encouraged to resume work as manager and editor of the paper. Because of the negotiations that day The Western Appeal failed to go to press. This was the only such failure known in the paper's subsequent thirty-five year history. Under the new management the paper was changed to a six-column quarto, twice its former size, and the subscription was reduced to $1.50 per year. Shortly after its reorganization The Western Appeal sought and was granted membership in the Minnesota Editorial Association, an organization of state

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[12] The Appeal, September 24, 1910.

[13] Ibid.

newspaper editors.[14]

The Western Appeal, secured and under new tack and sail, had weathered some of the recurring storms on the sea of journalism. It had not floundered or come to an ignoble end the first year as surely some had anticipated. This is not to say that The Western Appeal had found safe anchorage; but it had survived its initial trials. On June 23, 1886 an appreciative community sponsored a grand testimonial and benefit at the Market Hall. In this manner Saint Paul celebrated the first anniversary of The Western Appeal.[15]

January 15, 1887 marked another transition in the history of The Western Appeal. On that day F. D. Parker received an appointment to a Clerkship in the office of the Register of Deeds of Ramsey County.[16] Several days later he resigned as editor of The Western Appeal. His resignation proved to be a windfall for John Adams. Although Parker had provided managerial stability which the paper needed earlier, he had not been particularly innovative as an editor. Moreover, the paper still had not prospered under his management as originally hoped. In fact, at the time of his resignation The Western Appeal was $650.00 in debt, a considerable sum in that day. John Adams was advanced from

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[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

his position of associate editor to sole editorship of The Western Appeal. Within three years he became proprietor of The Western Appeal and transformed it from a local weekly into a paper of burgeoning national notoriety.

Although conceived as an organ of racial enlightenment, The Western Appeal was also a business enterprise. Financially it proved to be a poor investment. From its inception the expenses of publication always exceeded the income from subscriptions and advertisements. The resulting deficit was borne by its owners. The Appeal Publishing Company was owned by T. H. Lyles, James K. Hilyard and F. D. Parker, all with the exception of Parker prosperous businessmen. Yet Lyles and Hilyard could not permanently underwrite an unprofitable venture. Although the community could be counted upon for another benefit, its aid would only alleviate the basic problem, financial insolvency. If the paper was to continue, a more just and equitable distribution of the costs and a more profitable return on the investment had to be found.

On February 1, 1887 the Northwestern Publishing Company was incorporated. The new corporation consisted of a general job order printing office with the publishing of The Western Appeal as a subsidiary enterprise. Five thousand shares of corporate stock were to be sold to the general public at ten dollars per share. The Act of Incorporation provided for a board of seven directors to be

elected annually by the stockholders. The first Board of Directors consisted of John L. Neal of Minneapolis, president; George W. Duckett of St. Paul, vice president; John Q. Adams of St. Paul, secretary; Will Turner of Minneapolis, treasurer; L. H. Reynolds, Minneapolis; Thomas H. Lyles, Saint Paul, and James K. Hilyard of Saint Paul.[17]

The establishment of the Northwestern Publishing Company was a shrewd business foray. Its intended purpose was to give The Western Appeal a broader financial base and larger capital reserves from which to draw. Available sources indicate that Northwestern Publishing was the first successful job order printing office established and owned by black entrepreneurs of the city. It therefore held for several years a virtual monopoly in the printing of programs, cards and other small work needed within the black community. Although the future financial basis of The Western Appeal seemed assured, the present creditor still had to be satisfied. For the first five months the new stockholders were required to dig deeper into their pockets to meet the debt, but by July 1887 the paper was self-sustaining.[18]

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[17]Articles of Incorporation of the Northwestern Publishing Company; Register of Deeds Ramsey County, State of Minnesota; Book F. of Incorporation page 5-6, February 23, 1887, Saint Paul, Minnesota; The Appeal, September 24, 1910.

[18]The Western Appeal, May 26, 1888. Mrs. Idina (Adams) Gibbs recalled as a child visiting the offices of her father that he set the type himself. The type was then locked in sets and transported in racks across the street to the Saint Paul Dispatch and Pioneer Press building where

Sometime between 1888 and 1889 John Adams became sole proprietor of The Western Appeal. The method by which he acquired the paper is unknown. As early as March of 1887 shortly after the incorporation of Northwestern Publishing several individuals who had invested in the paper announced in The Western Appeal that their shares were for sale. It is conceivable that Adams might have purchased the majority of the shares thus becoming the principal stockholder of Northwestern Publishing.[19]

The tenacious struggle for survival was over. After eighteen months The Western Appeal had succeeded in establishing itself and faced no competition in a radius of four hundred miles. This fact was not lost upon John Adams. He realized that if The Western Appeal were to grow and show a profit it would need more subscribers and advertisers. In March of 1887 a Western Appeal office was opened in Minneapolis. J. Alex Ross was made The Western Appeal agent in that city.[20] This being accomplished John Adams directed

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it was printed. Adams' equipment for a period of time was not sophisticated enough to handle illustrations. (Interview, Idina (Adams) Gibbs.) Attempts to verify this fact were stymied because all records prior to 1926 were destroyed when the present management of the Saint Paul Dispatch and Pioneer Press received ownership.

[19] The Western Appeal, March 5, 1887.

[20] The Appeal, September 24, 1910. J. Alex Ross later left Minneapolis for Buffalo, New York where he became editor and proprietor of the Gazeteer and Guide.

his attention to Chicago, the territory of the Chicago Conservator, a black newspaper established ten years before The Western Appeal. He viewed the black population of Chicago as a tempting potential market. It was Adams' intent to "beard the Conservator of its den."

The campaign for Chicago began in earnest on January 7, 1888 with the establishment of the Chicago office of The Western Appeal. On that date Chicago was officially listed as a center for distribution in the banner block of The Western Appeal's editorial page. On February 25, 1888 the first official edition from the windy city made its debut.[21] The Chicago edition was a separate entity under the capable management of Cyrus Field Adams, brother of John Adams.

The Western Appeal was published simultaneously in Saint Paul and Chicago each Saturday.[22] Available sources indicate that each edition shared the same format, national news, featured articles, editorials and editorial policy but managed independently its own subscription, advertisement, and social news. The social columns were designed to be interchangeable with separate columns of news from Minneapolis and Saint Paul featured in Chicago and vice versa. Initially, John Adams maintained the title of editor

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[21] The Western Appeal, January 7, 1888; February 25, 1888: The Appeal, September 24, 1910.

[22] The Western Appeal, February 25, 1888.

and publisher with offices in Saint Paul while Cyrus Adams was only listed as manager of the Chicago Office.[23] It is still a matter of conjecture whether the Chicago edition was a subsidiary of the Northwestern Publishing Company, yet in an editorial on February 24, 1888, the editor and management of The Western Appeal declared that they were "determined to make the Appeal a Chicago paper, as well as the organ of the Northwest."[24] The Chicago Appeal was fashioned as a perfect instrument of sufficient flexibility to compete more favorably with the other black newspapers operating in the "black mecca" of the Midwest.

The battle for popularity was immediately enjoined by the other four major newspapers seeking the support of black Chicagoans: The Chicago Conservator, the Detroit Plaindealer, the Indianapolis World and the Cleveland Gazette. In January of 1888 The Western Appeal could only

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[23]Tragically, there are no known copies of the Chicago edition of The Western Appeal in existence. The above is a matter of conjecture based upon research done on twenty years of The Appeal. Allen H. Spear, author of Black Chicago: Making of a Negro Ghetto 1890-1920, acknowledged in a private conversation that he used the Saint Paul edition of The Western Appeal as source material in that its files are relatively complete from 1888 to 1920. Daniel P. Mikel's "A History of Negro Newspapers in Minnesota 1876-1963," an unpublished Master's thesis Macalester College (M.Ed.), 1963, made mention of the fact that neither the Kentucky Historical Society, Texas State Historical Society, nor the Dallas Historical Society have records of this paper or proof of its existence. Cities in each of these states at one time had branch offices of The Appeal.

[24]The Western Appeal, February 24, 1888.

boast a circulation of thirty-eight copies. On February 25, 1888 the Chicago edition issued 250 copies of which 119 were apparently sold.[25] By May of 1888 The Western Appeal's circulation topped 722 in Chicago necessitating a change of operation headquarters to room 4 180 Clark Street.[26] Still experiencing phenomenal growth in July of 1888 The Western Appeal made the following statement:

> The Appeal rejoices in its steady substantial growth. Although but an infant in Chicago it has outstripped all Colored contemporaries in the race for popularity and now stands at the head. For some time we have been cramped for room so we have removed from 180 Clark street to a new and elegant Como block No. 325 Dearborn street between Van Buren and Harrison street. The Como block has just been completed and is one of the most magnificent structures in the city of Chicago. The Appeal has secured a suite of front offices, No's 13, 14, and 15 on the second floor. In our new quarters we'll have the room to spread and do better work for the people's paper. The subscription [sic] and friends of the Appeal are cordially invited to visit us in our new and cheerful offices, 13, 14, and 15 Como block 325 Dearborn street.[27]

The competition between rivals presses became increasingly acrid. Finally, in November of 1888 The Western Appeal boasted that the circulation of the Chicago edition that month was 350 greater than the other four rival presses combined and set out to prove it.[28] In a direct rebuttal to this extensive claim as reprinted in The Western Appeal, the

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[25] Ibid., November 24, 1888.

[26] Ibid., June 9, 1888; November 24, 1888.

[27] Ibid., July 14, 1888.

[28] Ibid., November 24, 1888.

Detroit Plaindealer asserted:

> The Western Appeal claims a circulation in Chicago of over 1500 copies and says that it is 350 greater than the combined circulation of all Afro-American papers there. This may be true but if the figures on the other estimates are as far wrong as the one made for the Plaindealer, we must say the whole things is no good and is but the work of a bungler.[29]

The Indianapolis World stated that The Western Appeal was making "broad assertions and big claims that are preposterous . . . If the manager of the Appeal does business on the square as he claims, why does he cause to be published such statements and figures that cannot bear him out?"[30] The Western Appeal did just that. On December 1, 1888 in a series of three affidavits made by the manager, mailing clerk, and press room foreman and notarized by two different notaries public, The Western Appeal repeated its boast of having published 6,248 copies in the month of November, an average of 1,562 copies each week in the city of Chicago. The paper did not specifically indicate that these figures represented actual circulation. Yet there were apparently no further rebuttals and the campaign for popularity came to a close. The Western Appeal had ostensibly become Chicago's leading black newspaper.[31]

Months before The Western Appeal had won its bid

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[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid., December 1, 1888.

for hegemony in the Chicago area, the Adams brothers began to cast around for additional markets in which to promote The Western Appeal. In the Chicago social column of The Western Appeal dated May 26, 1888 it was announced that C. F. Adams had departed for Louisville, apparently on business. On June 9, 1888 a limited amount of social news from Louisville could be read in The Western Appeal. However, on June 23, 1888 the ultimate in the Adams brothers promotional techniques designed to increase circulation had been reached:

> In addition to our list of subscribers in Louisville we are sending the Appeal to a number of our friends formerly subscribers of the Bulletin, supposing of course that they would like to be on our list and get the Appeal which we propose to make even better than the Bulletin. If anyone who has been receiving the paper does not wish it send a postal card addressed to C. F. Adams 180 Clark street, Chicago, Ill., and the paper will be stopped. If we do not receive such a notice we shall take it for granted that "silence gives consent" and continue to send the paper and collection for the same later. We trust our friends are so well satisfied with the Appeal that they will become permanent subscribers.[32]

A branch office of The Western Appeal was established in Louisville on August 25, 1888 under the management of H. C. Weeden, a former reporter for the Bulletin and friend of the Adams brothers. Louisville became the fourth link in the Adams' empire which at its apogee would number seven cities. Additional offices were established in Saint Louis, Missouri on April 20, 1889, Dallas, Texas on August 13, 1892

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[32] Ibid., June 23, 1888.

and Washington D. C. on March 9, 1901.[33] At one time or another The Western Appeal also carried by-lines from Milwaukee, Des Moines, and Denver although official offices were not established in these cities.

In 1889 The Western Appeal began to bill itself as a national Afro-American newspaper. To lessen its identification exclusively with the Midwest, "Western" was dropped from its banner. The Appeal was read and circulated throughout the United States. Of this period in The Appeal's development T. H. Lyles later recalled that "special editions were published for Chicago, Louisville, St. Louis and Dallas, Texas, making five different and distinct editions with resident managers in each of these cities."[34]

In the space of seven years from its inception The Appeal had achieved a position of regional importance which it retained until the end of the nineteenth century. The Appeal promoted itself as the people's paper and printed what a spiritually oppressed people want to read. It dared to say what thousands of black men kept in the inner most recesses of their consciousness. Its editorials held white America up for ridicule by boldly denouncing the inconsistencies of America's racial policy, vigorously protesting against disenfranchisement and discrimination, and actively

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[33]Mikel, "A History of Negro Newspapers in Minnesota," p. 11; The Appeal, March 9, 1901.

[34]The Appeal, September 24, 1910.

defending the race against malicious racial propaganda. The Appeal helped restore to the Afro-American a sense of dignity stripped from him by a society which did not countenance his participation. In its columns Afro-Americans were accorded recognition for individual achievements regardless of social standing. Individual skills and talent were acknowledged and leadership encouraged. The Appeal gave the black politician a forum, the black writer and artist an audience, and the black businessman a media for advertisement. More importantly, it encouraged the citizenry to patronize black businesses.

If The Appeal was the people's paper, then John Adams was their representative at large, especially in the Twin Cities. At the age of forty-four John Quincy Adams had become one of the most influential Afro-Americans in the upper Midwest. Although demonstrating considerable literary talent, his second ascent in the field of journalism had been difficult and at times discouraging. Yet he met each obstacle with the same resilience and determination which marked his rise in the political jungles of Arkansas and Louisville. His bold endeavor to make The Western Appeal an organ of his personal beliefs had succeeded.

John Adams was a businessman of reserved demeanor. He was a quiet man who was always willing to listen, an attribute which befitted his trade. Behind this placid facade lay a restless and imaginative intellect. Adams

always thought before he spoke and contemplated before acting. When called upon to speak he spoke decisively, usually impressing people with the logic of his arguments. He was resourceful, innovative, and progressive in business and in his relationship with the community. Often his progressive nature kept him at odds with the black community which did not always share his zeal for protest, although forces for disenfranchisement and segregation were marshalling at its very doorstep.[35]

John Adams was known for his generosity, for he gave freely of his time and substance to the community. It was said by one of his contemporaries that Adams was the "Urban League" of his time, a moving and vital force in Saint Paul.[36] He was respected by friend and foe alike. He was never prone to gossip or to revel in character assassination nor did he employ these means to promote his paper.[37] Because of his influence John Adams was often called upon by the community to provide leadership.[38] The doors of his accommodating home at 527 St. Anthony Avenue were always open to friends and strangers alike. He enjoyed entertaining and

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[35]Personal Interview with S. E. Hall of Saint Paul, Minnesota, a contemporary of John Adams, at his home, December 19, 1970.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Personal Interview with Eva Neal of Saint Paul, Minnesota, a neighbor of John Adams, at her apartment, January 3, 1971.

[38]Interview, S. E. Hall.

would often bring home as guests people who just happened by his office seeking information, aid in finding accommodations, or employment. As editor of a prominent black newspaper Adams was called upon to entertain important personages who visited Saint Paul. Booker T. Washington, William Monroe Trotter, W. E. B. DuBois and many other persons of regional and national renown had at one time or another dined formally with the Adams family.[39]

On May 4, 1892 John Adams married Ella Bell Smith of Saint Paul with whom he had been engaged for several years. Shortly after his arrival in 1886 they were introduced at a church picnic. After a brief courtship they were engaged but owing to the precarious state of The Western Appeal their marriage was postponed until he could support a family. Four children were born to them in the following years; Idina, Margaret, Edythella, and John, Jr.[40]

John Adams was loved and respected by his family to whom he denied nothing which his resources could provide. His children were raised to be refined and educated. They played instruments, dressed and behaved in a manner becoming upper middle class families. An avid reader, Adams filled his personal library with classics and encouraged his children to read. As a patron of the performing arts, Adams frequently attended the theaters of the city accompanied

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[39]Interview, Idina (Adams) Gibbs.

[40]Ibid.

by his family. Often his family would accompany him on business trips across the country. According to Idina Gibbs, Adams' eldest daughter, their family was a picture of parental love and familial harmony. Her parents seldom if ever quarreled.[41]

John Adams was many things to many people. Yet all who knew him agreed that he was one of the leading protagonists for civil rights in the upper Midwest. In the tradition of his father John Adams refused to believe that ability and success were the monopoly of one race. Adams reasoned that given the opportunity the black man could compete successfully with whites. He personally encouraged Afro-Americans to take advantage of educational opportunities believing that individual achievement could be a moral force sufficient to make white America accord the black man full rights. Adams refused to believe, however, that individual achievement alone would guarantee the Afro-American his rights. An advocate of the protest tradition, Adams recognized the need for more aggressive black leadership to combat the gradual but perceptable errosion of their fundamental rights of citizenship. To the constant encroachment upon Afro-American rights Adams advocated persistent protest and agitation stating that "no wrongs are ever righted except by protest."[42]

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[41] Ibid.

[42] The Appeal, February 25, 1911.

Yet he deplored violence as a means to an end and was quick to chastise blacks whose means of protestation he thought were creating a negative image. With remarkable foresight Adams refused to support anyone who claimed to be the race leader. As he put it, "there is no national political leader for the race, as a body, absolutely refuses to be led."[43] Instead, he supported many men and organizations which protested the Afro-American condition.

The editor of The Appeal was also an ardent integrationist and civil rights enthusiast. He believed that a republic such as the United States could have but one kind of citizen and that the Afro-American had just claim to citizenship by birthright, loyalty to the flag, and personal sacrifice in defense of the country. The future of the country, he believed, lay in a pluralistic society rather than a segmented and segregated one. Adams persistently discredited the notion that America was a white man's country and denounced all class legislation and repeated attempts to disenfranchise the Afro-American.[44] He correctly evaluated the tenor of his time and reasoned that the "denial of these rights . . . worked irresistibly for the denial or abridgement of all related rights of citizenship, because a voteless man . . . has no rights which

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[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid., October 29, 1903.

anyone is bound to respect."[45]

There was one salient flaw in John Adam's approach to civil rights: his uncompromising allegiance to the Republican party. Adam's adherence to Republican doctrine often placed him in the embarrassing position of supporting the Republican party against the best interests of his race. Although disenchanted with the effort to create a "lily white" Republican party in the South and the obvious contempt the Republican party held for the black electorate in the North, Adams remained within the Republican ranks. Often times during periods of disillusionment he would intimate that Afro-Americans should remain politically independent.[46] Yet his own indecisiveness upon this very issue cost him the respect of several influential members of the black community.

The Appeal was an organ of the Republican Party.[47] It is a matter of conjecture whether John Adams was directly or indirectly subsidized by the Republican party especially during the election years. It is known that during the

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[45] Ibid.

[46] In the August 25, 1888; April 20th, May 18th, May 11th, and June 29th, 1889 issues of The Western Appeal Adams' disillusionment with the Republican party seemed to have reached a high water mark.

[47] N. W. Ayers, American Newspaper Annual and Directory (Philadelphia: N. W. Ayers and Sons, 1915.) This directory lists all of the newspapers in the country giving information about size, format, circulation, editor and political affiliation. Although Republican from almost its inception, 1915 was the first year that The Appeal was listed and politically designated in this index.

the presidential election of 1900 Senator Marcus Hanna of Ohio used The Appeal to promote the candidacy of William McKinley among Afro-Americans. Cyrus Adams, manager of the Chicago Appeal, was appointed by Senator Hanna to the Republican National Advisory Committee. In a display of unusual partisan exuberance Cyrus Adams "undertook to keep in line several hundred newspapers published by and for the Afro-American" by publishing short editorial campaign tracts designed for reprinting in black journals.[48] In addition, he organized a letter campaign to win endorsement for McKinley by national Afro-American leaders. For his effort Cyrus Adams was appointed as Assistant Registrar of the United States Treasury, a position he retained for twelve years.[49]

Several competing black newspapers over a period of years were established in the Twin Cities in an attempt to offset the influence of The Appeal. One such publication, The World, in an editorial criticizing John Adams indirectly summarized the discontent of a minority of citizens with Adams' political machinations. It stated that:

> Newspapers to be a race organ must be independent in all things, when the honor and status of the race needs a fearless and uncompromising champion. A newspaper can afford to champion political parties only so long as they subserve the best interest of the whole people, but then the

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[48] The Appeal, January 12, 1901.

[49] Ibid.

> newspaper should take up the fight in behalf of the people, and there do battle until the rights of the people have been made secure. Men were made before political parties, and parties were made by man, therefore . . . parties were made for the benefit of men, and not men for the use of the party.[50]

Despite his affinity for Republican politics John Adams remained the black community's unfatiguing champion for racial justice as subsequent events would show.

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[50] The World, June 20, 1896. This particular newspaper was printed in Chicago and circulated in Minneapolis. It is confused usually with another publication known as The Minneapolis World.

CHAPTER III

Organization and Protest 1887 - 1895

In the 1880's the Afro-American in Minnesota enjoyed many privileges of citizenship unknown to his southern brethren. He exercised the right to vote, to hold public office and was accorded a greater degree of mobility and social interaction with whites. Although impressive headway in business enterprise, land holdings, educational achievements and increased literacy had been made, in the closing years of that decade the Negroes in Minnesota began to feel the subtle effects of de facto segregation. Despite the passage of state civil rights laws in 1865 and 1885 many whites, especially in the area of public accommodations, began to discriminate blatantly against Afro-Americans. The racial slights experienced by blacks in Minnesota were symptoms of a greater malaise which gripped the nation in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. It was at this time that racism in its worst expression attempted to expunge physically the Afro-American from all avenues of national life.

Nationally the 1890's began disastrously for the Afro-American. In Mississippi the black man was completely disenfranchised, in Louisiana officially segregated, and

in South Carolina maliciously vilified by its governor. By the end of the century lynching and violence in the South had reached epidemic proportions. The capstone of the black man's social ostracism, the Supreme Court's decision in Plessey v. Ferguson (1896), gave official sanction to the South's "solution." This decision encouraged the state governments and local communities to handle their "Negro problem" as they desired.[1]

In Minnesota John Adams and like-minded citizens of Saint Paul's black community came to the realization that state laws established to protect their interest were being subverted. They also realized that if such violations were to proceed unchallenged other rights well established by law might be treated with contempt as well. In the spring of 1887 the stage was set for a major test of Minnesota's civil rights legislation and the sentiments of the white community.

On May 17, 1887 William A. Hazel, a visiting architect, attempted to procure lodging for the night at both the Astoria and Clarendon hotels in Saint Paul. In both instances he was refused accommodations on the account of his color. When the clerk at the Clarendon Hotel, after acknowledging the existence of state laws prohibiting discriminatory practices in public facilities, refused to

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[1]Leslie H. Fishel Jr. and Benjamin Quarles, The Black American: A Documentary History (Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foreman and Company, 1967), p. 312.

lodge him, Hazel demanded to speak with the proprietor. The proprietor likewise refused to accommodate him and verbally assaulted Hazel. Upon protesting his treatment Hazel was arrested and charged with drunken disorderliness despite his obvious sobriety. He was forced to spend the night in the city jail and was released the next morning.[2]

Shortly after this incident William Hazel was encouraged by John Adams to bring suit against the management of the Clarendon Hotel for discriminatory practices under the Minnesota Civil Rights Act of 1885. The week following this incident, which outraged the black community, John Adams announced the impending suit and printed this warning to the white community in The Western Appeal:

> We do not intend to sit supinely and mourn over the state of affairs, but purpose to learn if there is civil justice to be obtained for a human being upon whom God has seen fit to place dusky skin. There is a civil rights law upon the statutes books of the State of Minnesota, and it is the intention of Mr. Hazel to bring a suit under the same not alone to punish these prejudiced landlords by forcing them to pay heavy damages for the outrage perpetrated, but to establish the principle, that we are the citizens of this commonwealth, and we do not intend to be debarred from our privileges as such . . . We speak for every colored citizen in the city, and we intend to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer.[3]

On June 20, 1887 a suit for two thousand dollars in damages was filed in the Second Judicial District Court by

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[2]The Western Appeal, May 21, 1887.

[3]Ibid., May 21, 1887.

William Hazel against Michael E. Foley and Thomas J. Foley proprietors of the Clarendon Hotel. The Foley brothers were charged with wrongful and unlawful refusal of facilities and privileges guaranteed by laws of the State of Minnesota. The suit was pursuant to violations of Minnesota Common Law rather than the Civil Rights Law of 1885.[4] On October 17, 1887 the suit was settled in favor of Hazel and he was awarded the sum of twenty-five dollars by the jury for damages sustained. Although a moral victory had been won, the sum awarded Hazel was not sufficient to cover the expenses incurred in bringing the suit to court. The Western Appeal, therefore, solicited a collection from the community, on whose behalf the suit was filed, to help defray Hazel's expenses.[5]

The affront to the black community, reflected in the treatment accorded William Hazel, was not readily forgotten. In the weeks following the court decision the incident still provoked serious discussion. According to The Western Appeal it was of general consensus in the community that the damages assessed by the court did not constitute a sufficient deterrent against future violations of the law. To the contrary, the cost of bringing a civil

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[4]William A. Hazel v. Michael E. Foley & Thomas J. Foley (Foley Brothers), 25515 Civil, Court of the Second Judicial District, State of Minnesota, Judgment, October 17, 1887, Ramsey County Court House, St. Paul.

[5]The Western Appeal, October 22, 1887.

suit before the court was prohibitive for the average black man. The Western Appeal concluded that the rights of the community were still subject to infringement. To place the blacks in a better position in which to defend their rights John Adams suggested the formation of a protective league which would oversee all cases where the rights of Afro-Americans in Minnesota were abridged or denied. Such a league with the financial support of black citizens would be responsible for presenting civil cases before a court of law. Addressing the community through The Western Appeal Adams suggested that "a state convention be called and some plan formed for the protection of our civil right."[6] Figuratively speaking, he further cautioned not to tarry in this pursuit for "it will be well for us in time of peace to prepare for war."[7]

John Adams' appeal fell on receptive ears. On October 31, 1887 a number of community leaders met for the purpose of issuing a call for a state convention of colored people. According to The Western Appeal, the leading participants felt that such a convention, representing the collective will of Afro-Americans throughout the state, was necessary for the formation of a state civil rights league. It was then decided that the state convention be called for

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[6] Ibid., October 22, 1887.

[7] Ibid.

December 5, 1887 in Saint Paul. It was further decided that representation at the convention be limited by apportionment, relative to the number of Negroes in each county of the state. Next a resolution expressing black grievances was drafted but returned to the committee for revision before it was adopted.[8] In subsequent meetings held during November of 1887 John Adams was elected secretary of the executive committee and as one of the twenty-one delegates to represent Ramsey County.[9]

On November 15, 1887 the call for a state convention of colored citizens was sent throughout the state. The following was reprinted in The Western Appeal:

> Fellow Citizens:
>
> Feeling a deep interest in the development of the great state of Minnesota appreciating the blessing of her just and liberal laws and the kindly feeling of her best citizens and believing in union there is strength we deem it wise and prudent that we should take some action to advance our industrial and civil rights vouchsafed to us by the constitution of the United States and the statutes of this commonwealth. Recent developments have demonstrated the fact that there is a disposition on the part of some to abridge the rights guaranteed by the constitution and the laws of this state. Therefore, we the Colored citizens of St. Paul in mass meeting assembled, do hereby issue a call for a State Convention to meet in the hall of the House of Representatives in the city of St. Paul on Monday Dec 5th 1887 at ten o'clock A.M. for the purpose of advancing our interest in these matters and after due deliberation to forn [sic] such organization as may be agreed upon having for its object the protection of our rights herein-before stated. And for the purpose of carrying out

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[8] Ibid., November 5, 1887.

[9] Ibid., November 9, 1887; November 12, 1887.

these provisions it is hereby requested that the Colored citizens in the several counties of the state meet and from their number elect the number of delegates from each county as follows.

Hennepin	18	Steele	3
Ramsey	21	Anoka	2
Washington	5	Wright	2
Freeborn	2	Clay	3
Polk	3	Dakota	3
Rice	5	Goodhue	2
Winona	6	Blue Earth	3
St. Louis	4		

All other counties not mentioned in the above list are requested to send two delegates each.

By Order Executive Committee

J.H. Hickman	T.H. Lyles	R.T. Gray
J.W. Luca	Albert Miller	F.D. Parker, Chairman
Peter Harris	J.H. Cunningham	J.Q. Adams, Secretary[10]
W.H. Parker, Sr.	A. Miles	

The number of Afro-Americans that responded to this call is unknown; nor are there records of that body's deliberations. It is known that out of the convention proceedings the Minnesota Protective and Industrial League was formed.

The Minnesota Protective and Industrial League sought the amelioration of social and economic hardships experienced by Afro-Americans in Minnesota. According to F. D. Parker, chairman of the League's executive committee, "the league is not designed to become a political machine but it will earnestly seek to promote the material interest of the race as well as to protect them in their political rights."[11]

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[10] Ibid., November 26, 1887.

[11] The Minneapolis Spokesman, May 16, 1958.

The League attempted to expand avenues of livelihood and render material assistance for members of the race. It even encouraged blacks in the South to migrate and settle in Minnesota. Membership in the League was open to all regardless of sex, creed or color. A membership fee of fifty cents and monthly dues of twenty-five cents were required of all participants.[12]

The Protective and Industrial League was organized into locally active committees. The local committee kept a vigilant guard against acts construed as constituting an abridgement or denial of Negro rights. They also promoted projects designed to improve the quality of Afro-American life. One such program was a building association which would construct inexpensive homes for small monthly payments.[13] The League encouraged home ownership and equated it with stability, prosperity and general well-being of the community. On a larger scale the Protective and Industrial Bureau, established to administer the League's activity on the state level, ambitiously sought to bring Negroes from the South and settle them in Minnesota upon 50,000 acres of fertile farm land to be acquired from public land officials and railroad interests. Recruiting agents were to canvas southern communities in an attempt to form

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[12]Spangler, The Negro in Minnesota, p. 78-79.

[13]The Minneapolis Spokesman, May 16, 1958.

colonies of Afro-Americans willing to resettle in the North. Only the "hardier and bolder representatives of the race" were encouraged to participate. If the initial venture proved successful the Bureau planned to canvas the entire West to promote the settlement of an additional 50,000 acres of land.[14]

Despite the leadership of Parker, Lyles and Adams, the League's grandiose plans never materialized. However, the emergence of the Minnesota Protective and Industrial League in 1887 was a significant milestone in the polarization of black awareness in Minnesota. Although the League's objectives appear speculative and impractical, they were not totally illogical and represented the most progressive thoughts of its leaders. Certainly, it would have been more advantageous for the southern black man to improve his financial status by moving North where the same amount of effort would reward him with a greater income and degree of economic security than could be obtained in the South. More importantly, he could raise a family and enjoy the privileges of citizenship without fear of intimidation or physical coercion. Politically, the implications of settling such a large number of migrants could not have been overlooked by such a politician as John Adams. An influx of southern blacks would have measurably strengthened the Negro vote in Minnesota and collectively, they might have succeeded in

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[14] The Western Appeal, December 24, 1887.

electing their own representatives to the state legislature. Moreover, such a potential block of votes might have eventually constituted a balance of power in an otherwise Republican state.[15]

Secondly, the League appeared to spawn out of deep dissatisfaction with the treatment of the black electorate by both political parties. Occasionally The Western Appeal expressed disillusionment with the Republican party which began to display signs of being embarrassed by the racial issue. Although the state Republicans still lobbied to retain the black vote, they no longer demonstrated an inclination to support the black man in the defense of his rights. To resist actively the possibility of disenfranchisement and segregation, John Adams deemed it expedient that the black community bind themselves into a league for the mutual defense of their rights. The alternatives were obvious to all.

It is a matter for conjecture whether the Minnesota Protective and Industrial League was initiated in response to a call issued by T. Thomas Fortune, editor of the New York Freeman, in June of 1887 for a federation of northern Afro-

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[15]Henry Lee Moon, author of Balance of Power: The Negro Vote (New York: Doubleday, 1948) discusses at length the attempts by Negro leadership in the 1880's to forge the black electorate in the North into a political unit. It was commonly believed by advocates that if such a plan succeeded, the black vote might make a difference in close elections expecially in large urban centers with a high concentration of blacks.

American organizations. Fortune proposed that participating organizations in this Protective League would retain their autonomy but would act collectively in compelling politicians to review the grievances of blacks and to force the national parties to acquire new respect for the Afro-American electorate.[16] In August and September 1887, Fortune published in the New York Freeman a lengthy treatise discussing in detail the need for unity and delineating a plan of organization, which subsequently became the foundation of the Afro-American League. This plan was enthusiastically received by some groups and several Protective Leagues were immediately established.[17] It is likely that John Adams and other convention leaders who called the Minnesota Protective and Industrial League into being were cognizant of this national development, yet there is no formal proof. Generally, the call for a national federated league was somewhat premature and the call for unity did not find fruition until the establishment of the Afro-American League in 1889.[18]

Fortune reiterated his call for black unity in the fall of 1889 and proposed that a national convention of Afro-Americans meet in Chicago in January of 1890. As early as

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[16]Leslie H. Fishel Jr. "The Negro in Northern Politics, 1870-1890" Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. 42 (December, 1955), p. 484.

[17]Penn, The Afro-American Press, p. 525-526.

[18]Ibid., p. 526.

October of 1889 The Appeal announced an impending conference of black men in Chicago to form a "Colored Men's National League."[19] As more detailed information became available active interest increased in the community. A number of black men including John Adams seized the initiative by meeting October 25, 1889 in the office of F. L. McGhee, a Saint Paul black lawyer. After lengthy discussion they issued a call through The Appeal for a mass meeting of Afro-Americans to consider the formation of such a league.[20]

The community responded enthusiastically and a large number of colored citizens met at the Market Hall on October 31, 1889 and designated themselves the Afro-American League of Saint Paul, Minnesota No. 1. John Adams was chosen to chair the first organizational meeting. He explained the objectives of the League and read a proposed constitution modeled after that developed by Fortune. An election of officers followed and Robert E. Anderson was elected as the League's first President. F. L. McGhee, John Adams, J. K. Hilyard, T. H. Lyles and Allen French were elected to the executive committee, and The Appeal designated as the official organ of the League.[21] In compliance with the call for a national convention it was

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[19] The Appeal, October 19, 1889.

[20] Ibid., October 26, 1889.

[21] Ibid., November 4, 1889; December 14, 1889.

decided to send delegates to Chicago. At a meeting held at St. James Church on January 6, 1890 Adams and McGhee were elected as delegates to the first Afro-American League convention.[22]

The National Afro-American League convened in Chicago on January 15, 1890 with representatives of twenty-one states attending its opening session. The Reverend J. C. Price of Livingston College, North Carolina was elected the body's first president with T. Thomas Fortune designated as League secretary. Both Adams and McGhee were placed on the League's executive committee. The establishment of the National Afro-American League was an unprecedented step in the direction of national black awareness and self-reliance. It represented the first attempt of Afro-Americans to obtain through the courts that which proved unattainable through political affiliation.[23] Yet despite its enthusiastic beginning the League was torn asunder by internal problems and the lack of strong leadership. Moreover, it lacked funds, mass support and acceptance by race leaders. By 1893 the national body as well as its local chapters were defunct.[24]

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[22] Ibid., January 11, 1890.

[23] Penn, The Afro-American Press, p. 532-533; Fishel, "The Negro in Northern Politics", pp. 310-312.

[24] August Meier, Negro Thought in America 1880-1915 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1968), p. 130; Emma Lou Thornbrough, "The National Afro-American League 1887-1908" Journal of Southern History Vol. XXVII (November, 1961), p. 501.

The Afro-American League of Saint Paul, Minnesota No. 1. began its membership drive with a burst of organizational development. An attempt was made to draw the entire black community in Saint Paul into the League and related activities. As the official organ of the Saint Paul League, The Appeal published notices of League meetings and detailed coverage of the organization's activities. In time additional leagues were established in Minneapolis, Stillwater, Duluth, Faribault, Anoka and in other counties.[25] Before the local chapters throughout the state began to languish one state convention was held in Minneapolis in May of 1891.[26]

Early in 1891 the Saint Paul League, in a formal petition submitted to the national body, protested the proposed meeting of the Second National Afro-American League Convention in Knoxville, because of Tennessee's adoption of a Separate Coach Act. Despite the protest the convention was held in Knoxville and the Minnesota delegation to the convention was forced to accept "Jim Crow" accommodations on the Tennessee railway.[27] After the convention the Afro-American League made immediate preparations to test the constitutionality of the law. Locally, John Adams in an editorial appearing in The Appeal publicized the injustice of the law and commented:

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[25]Spangler, The Negro in Minnesota, p. 79; The Appeal, May 16, 1891.

[26]The Appeal, May 23, 1891.

[27]Spangler, The Negro in Minnesota, p. 79.

> The separate car bill which was recently enacted in Tennessee has raised a storm of indignation throughout the country in which both the Colored and fair-minded white people join. The Afro-American citizens of Minnesota have taken the lead in starting a fund to test the law and in holding a mass meeting to express their condemnation and indignation.[28]

A mass meeting was held at Pilgrim Baptist Church out of which the Minnesota Citizens Civil Rights Committee was formed. This committee assisted the local Afro-American League in raising funds to test the legality of the Separate Coach Act in Tennessee. Despite their coordinated effort the law was not overthrown.[29] Undaunted by failure, the Citizens Civil Rights Committee also attempted to raise funds for the testing of a similar case in Oklahoma.[30]

The attempt to challenge the constitutionality of the Separate Coach Acts represented the last major legal undertaking by League members in Saint Paul for several years. Disillusioned by their repeated failures in court to stem the rising tide of racism and by the general impotence of the national body, the Saint Paul League and Citizen's committee began to languish by 1893.

A critical examination of The Appeal's editorial page during the years of organization and protest 1887-1895 reveals one inexplicable fact. Despite the proliferation of local leagues and ad hoc committees to combat racial

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[28] The Appeal, June 27, 1891.

[29] Spangler, The Negro in Minnesota, p. 79.

[30] The Appeal, September 12, 1891.

injustices, there was no apparent organized counter-threat by whites to deprive Afro-Americans of their rights. Neither the state legislature nor city government at this time attempted to impose overt segregation or disenfranchisement upon its colored citizenry. Court cases other than Hazel v. Foley Brothers involving alleged discriminatory acts represented individual acts of indiscretion rather than a group movement. Yet it is difficult to discern whether this state of affairs was attributable to an alert and vocal black community or indifferent whites. The lack of overt hostilities between the races in Saint Paul might explain why the various leagues and committees established by blacks became inactive shortly after their organization and perhaps why southern blacks were encouraged to migrate to the state.

Lacking local issues to champion The Appeal ostensibly embraced larger issues of national concern to the race. Likewise the community expressed an avid interest in the affairs of Negroes nationally. This is demonstrated by their willingness to collect sums of money to fight proscriptive legislation elsewhere. Characteristically, the organization of protective leagues in the Twin Cities was prompted more by a deterioration in the status of the Negro nationally than an actual threat to their welfare locally; a fact demonstrable as late as the first decade of the Twentieth century. An example of the community's concern

nationally for race pride and awareness was the founding of the John Brown Monument Association in 1894.

Afro-Americans generally believed that John Brown's raid upon the government arsenal at Harper's Ferry on October 16, 1859 was an unselfish and compassionate act on behalf of an oppressed people. Although his effort ended in martyrdom at Charles Town, Virginia on December 2, 1859, the meaning of his sacrifice was lost in the ensuing struggle to preserve the Union. Thirty-five years after his death John Brown's grave site at North Elba, Essex County, New York remained virtually unmarked and neglected. In August of 1894 The Appeal supported a drive to erect a monument at John Brown's grave on behalf of a gratefully emancipated people.

The John Brown Monument Association was incorporated August 17, 1894. Its object was to solicit funds nationally among Afro-Americans for the erection of a marble shaft at the grave site.[31] On August 25, 1894 the first in a series of fund raising concerts was held at St. James Church. At that program John Adams, secretary of the movement, announced the intent of the Association to solicit two dollars from each of the five thousand black Baptist congregations in

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[31]Articles of Incorporation of the John Brown Monument Association of Saint Paul, Minnesota, Department of the Secretary of State, Saint Paul, Minnesota August 17, 1894, L-2265; Edward Wade Papers 1869 - 1900, Document collection, Minnesota Historical Society.

the nation. In a circular addressed to the black congregations of the nation the Association asked that Sunday, October 16, 1894 be set aside for memorial services in honor of John Brown. Donations collected were then to be forwarded to the central fund in Saint Paul. Twenty-thousand dollars was anticipated from this appeal.[32]

Support from the nation's black religious bodies never reached the anticipated level. As late as 1896 Amanda Lyles, wife of T. H. Lyles and president of the Association, was stumping the nation to rally support for the project. Unfortunately, local interest in the monument seemed to have waned after 1896. Although Amanda Lyles did receive support from several national black organizations, it is unknown whether the project as conceived and later altered was ever realized.[33]

The controversy generated in the Afro-American community over the Supreme Court's decision in Plessey v. Fergeson in 1896 ostensibly overshadowed the effort to erect a monument to the dead. Elsewhere in the North Blacks were girding themselves for a larger confrontation; a struggle to resist the encroachment of de jure segregation in their

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[32]The Appeal, September 1, 1894.

[33]Amendment to Articles of Incorporation of the John Brown Monument Association of Saint Paul, Minnesota, Department of Secretary of State, Saint Paul, Minnesota March 26, 1896, P-2538; The World, May 16, 1896; The Appeal, September 1, 1900; September 8, 1900; October 6, 1900.

respective communities. Out of the South a new voice was heard which was alternately to dominate Negro thought in America for the next twenty years. Booker T. Washington and his philosophy of "accommodation" eventually involved John Adams, The Appeal and other exponents of protest in a struggle whose outcome influenced the course of the black protest tradition in the United States.

CHAPTER IV

"Moses of His People"

As the result of his address at the Atlanta Exposition in September 1895, Booker T. Washington was acclaimed by the white press and national leaders as the leading exponent of Negro affairs in the United States. By expounding upon the gospel of wealth, denial of social equality culminating in an appeal for racial pride and self-help through economic and moral development, Washington succeeded in manipulating every symbol and myth dear to the majority of Americans black and white.[1] Washington's wide acceptance by both races was attributed to his belief in "accommodation," an emphasis upon industrial education and cultivation of personal pride and thrift for the black man with a corresponding de-emphasis upon civil rights.[2] Washington, a southerner, identified the black cause with the economic development of the South. He expressed sectional loyalty, promoted interracial harmony, and played down racial injustices and atrocities perpetrated against blacks by southern whites.[3]

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[1] Meier, Negro Thought in America, pp. 100-106.

[2] Ibid., p. 103.

[3] Ibid., p. 106.

Tuskegee Institute for Negroes, Washington's industrial school endowed by northern philanthropists, was a visual embodiment of his philosophy. Tuskegee produced a stable black labor force by teaching manual skills necessary for rural living as well as semi-professional skills necessary for the emerging industrial South. Industrial training also produced a stable class of people who accepted middle class virtues including docility, a characteristic of southern Negroes long admired by both northern philanthropists and white southerners.[4]

As president of Tuskegee Institute Washington had access to vast financial reservoirs and influential circles of white friends. These elements were the basis of the power and prestige that he enjoyed. Washington used this power to stifle opposition to his leadership. His unceasing criticism of academic education and overemphasis of the merits of industrial training eventually alienated the intellectual black leaders. If contained to the South, Washington's philosophy might not have met the storm of protest that it aroused among northern blacks nor come to such an ignoble end before his death in 1915. Unfortunately, a determined effort was made by white philanthropists and some black leaders to foist the Tuskegee Philosophy and the leadership of Booker T. Washington upon the entire black

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[4] Ibid., p. 93.

population of the nation. Because of his close identification with southern interests, many northern Blacks viewed Washington and his Tuskegee Philosophy with suspicion. His attempts to achieve a position of political hegemony over the black movement despite his failure to agitate for Negro rights and his silence on the atrocities perpetrated against southern blacks placed him in disfavor with a growing vocal segment of the black population.[5]

Commenting upon the activities of the Tuskegeean, William Monroe Trotter, editor of the Boston Guardian and the most vitriolic critic of Washington questioned:

> To what end will your vaunting ambition hurl itself? Does not the fear of future hate and execration, does not the sacred rights and hopes of a suffering race, in no wise move you? The colored people see and understand you: They know that you have marked their very freedom for destruction, and yet, they endure you almost without murmer. O times, O evil days, upon which we have fallen.[6]

Trotter was later quoted as saying that "its bad enough to be enslaved by white men . . . without being put under the

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[5] In a recent article Louis R. Harlan attempts to dispel the rather negative image of Booker T. Washington. Harlan suggests that despite Washington's apparent adherence to southern accommodationism, he was working covertly against discrimination and disenfranchisement. The seeming monolith in Negro affairs, according to Harlan, was in reality a many faceted man who waged a private and unrecorded battle against racial proscription in the South. (Louis R. Harlan, "Booker T. Washington," American Historical Review Vol. 75 No. 6, October 1970).

[6] Elliott M. Rudwick, W. E. B. DuBois Propagandist of the Negro Protest (New York: Athenium Press, 1968, p. 65.

thraldom of a Negro."[7] By 1915 Washington had fallen into disfavor with a significant portion of the black population.

Paradoxically, despite his background, education and posturing on civil rights, John Adams had been a firm admirer and supporter of Booker T. Washington for several years. His fascination with Washington appears to be with the man and his work rather than Washington's philosophy. Although he disagreed with the extension of Washington's philosophy in the North, Adams viewed Tuskegee as a positive educational program for the Negro in the South.[8] The editor of The Appeal continued to support Booker T. Washington until 1903 when Washington's absolutism over racial affairs and failure to speak out forcefully on southern injustices seems to have given the editor second thoughts.

Initially The Appeal hailed Booker T. Washington's ascendency to national acclaim and defended him against would-be critics. In a lengthy editorial in The Appeal of July 3, 1897, John Adams commented upon a recent reception tendered to Washington by the Afro-Americans of Chicago:

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[7]Stephen R. Fox, The Guardian of Boston: William Monroe Trotter (New York: Atheneum Press, 1970), p. 40.

[8]As mentioned earlier, Adams lent his support to any individual or organization which held racial uplift as a basic premise. Adams' attraction to Booker T. Washington and subsequent support of the Afro-American Council is understandable in this context. Yet what remains inexplicable was Adams' tenacious defense of the Tuskegeean despite evidence of Washington's indiscriminate use of power for personal ends, a fact which alienated a significant portion of the race press from his following.

> It is indeed gratifying to those of the race, who have been far-sighted to appricate [sic] Prof. Washington's accomplishments in its behalf in the past that so fitting a testimonial should be paid their champion by so large a number of representative Afro-Americans. There have been many harsh and unjust things said against Washington - born of petty jealously - through the voices of press, pulpit, and would-be-leadership. He has met obstacles of discouragement from those he was striving to benefit . . . The white people, North and South, believe in him and his work. He is doing much toward cementing the friendship between the educated and skilled Afro-American and the Southern white man . . . The race sooner or later must accept Booker T. Washington as its natural leader - "the moses of his people," as he is called down in the "blackbelt" of Alabama.[9]

Accordingly, The Appeal published a Tuskegee column for several years and gave high priority to advertisements and events surrounding Booker T. Washington and Tuskegee Institute. However, this relationship began to cool after 1903. Responding to criticism leveled at The Appeal by critics of Washington and in an apparent dissatisfaction with the Tuskegeean's failure to defend the interest of the race in the South, The Appeal in October of 1903 published a platform of its personal beliefs and stated that:

> We [The Appeal] hereby reaffirm our determination to continue the battle for every right to which we are justly entitled, as good citizens loyal to the flag, and come what may, we will never give up the contention for absolute justice and absolute equality under the law. THE APPEAL does not consider Mr. Washington the national political leader, for the race, as a body, absolutely refuses to be led. Frederick Douglass came nearer to what the ideal race leader should be than any Afro-American who ever lived, yet he was assailed by almost the entire race press of

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[9]The Appeal, July 3, 1897.

> his day. THE APPEAL thinks for itself. Our platform was made before we met Mr. Washington and it has never changed. No association with him or any other man has affected our position on the foregoing fundamental principles.[10]

Later the differences between Washington and Adams became irrevocable. Shortly before Washington's death in 1915 The Appeal printed what appeared to be an indirect attack on Washington and his southern supporters. In this article Adams stated:

> The Appeal approves of every word of the reprinted editorial from the Chicago Tribune and wishes to add a few words of excoriation of the contemptible curs who continually praise the Southern people and condone many of their infamous acts. It is not only contemptable but criminal. The extension of race prejudice in the North has been greatly aided by these fiends in human form who have been paid in cash or the appellation of "good negro" to laud the brutal, barbarous, unhuman, unchristian, un-American South.[11]

When Booker T. Washington died in November 1915 The Appeal carried no editorial eulogy. In fact the event went for the most part unnoticed except for an announcement of a memorial service for the fallen leader at one of the local churches.[12]

It was inevitable that these two men from dissimilar backgrounds should eventually disagree as to the means by which the black man would achieve his salvation. John Adams came from a refined patriarchial Christian home of free

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[10] Ibid., October 29, 1903.

[11] Ibid., October 2, 1915.

[12] Ibid., November 20, 1915.

parents with some means. He was educated in northern private schools, had graduated from college and had served his apprenticeship in a Republican reconstruction government. Adams was an astute politician who believed more in the power of the ballot than in Christian ethics, moral upbringing or individual pursuit of wealth as a means of obtaining Afro-American rights. Although sharing the same philosophical tradition as William Monroe Trotter, Adams, because of his age, lacked the assertiveness and apparent arrogance of the Boston editor.

Booker T. Washington was a product of the South. Born in slavery he never knew his father (allegedly a white man) and was raised by an uneducated and overworked mother.[13] He received his education in the austere and puritan environment of Hampton Institute, Virginia, where he was taught that thrift, industry and Christian character would win the Negro success in life.[14] These elements formed the core of Washington's self-help philosophy expressed ably in his work at Tuskegee Institute.[15] Washington deprecated politics and political agitation as a means of achieving Afro-American rights. Instead he urged his followers to acquire skills and accumulate wealth, rationalizing that:

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[13]Booker T. Washington, Up From Slavery as reprinted in Three Negro Classics (New York: Avon Books, 1968), p. 29, 30, 43.

[14]Ibid., p. 16, 60-67.

[15]Meier, Negro Thought in America, p. 103.

> It is not within the providence of human nature that a man who is intelligent and virtuous and owns and cultivates the best farm in his county shall very long be denied the proper respect and considerations.[16]

The editor of The Appeal had always held that organization and active agitation were necessary for the protection of the black man's rights and improvement of his condition. Adams further maintained that a voteless man had no rights which people would respect. Moreover, racial grievances, according to Adams, would be righted only by protest. Washington was quick to remind Blacks that "conventions and organizations whose aims were to redress certain grievances were 'right and proper', though they should not be the chief reliance of the race . . . "[17] He also pointed out that "an inch of progress is worth more than a yard of complaint."[18]

John Adams complained unceasingly against Jim Crow legislation in the South. The Appeal would periodically remind southern Negroes that "there are circumstances which may make it necessary for Afro-Americans to ride in Jim Crow cars of steam railway, but it is not often there is any excuse for being 'Jimcrowed' on the street cars - WALK."[19]

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[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid., p. 107.

[18] Ibid.

[19] The Appeal, June 18, 1904.

In contrast, the Tuskegeean would argue that "the objection to the Jim Crow Car was not the separation but the inadequacy of the accommodations." He further counseled that "all parts of the world have their own peculiar customs and prejudices. For that reason it is a part of common sense to respect them."[20] When speaking of racial atrocities and lynching of blacks in the South, Washington once said, "the custom of burning human beings has become so common as scarcely to excite interest . . . There is no shadow of excuse for departure from legal methods in the case of individuals accused of murder."[21] When discussing "Tillmanization" of Negroes in the South, Adams often became emotionally violent. In one dramatic editorial outburst the editor demanded:

> Isn't it about time for the Colored people of the South to take law into their own hands and meet these hellish heathens halfway? Blood for Blood. If a colored man is lynched who is guilty of no crime whose life is safe? Every man should go armed and sell his life as dearly as possible. Blood for Blood.[22]

John Adams' failure to define adequately his relationship with Booker T. Washington in addition to his close

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[20]Meier, Negro Thought in America, p. 108.

[21]Ibid., p. 109.

[22]The Appeal, September 5, 1891. "Tillmanization" was a word coined by John Adams in honor of "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman one time Governor and Senator from South Carolina whose diatribes against blacks encouraged lawlessness and lynching as a solution to the South's Negro problem.

association with the pro-Washington forces in the Afro-American Council earned for him the appelation of "Bookerite" in racial circles. Yet his rejection of Washington's leadership in 1903 did not immediately earn him a seat in the Trotter-DuBois faction of the black movement. Unfortunately, his past association with the Washington camp also cost Adams an invitation to join in 1905 with other like-minded black men across the nation in forming the Niagara Movement.

John Adams was closely associated with the Afro-American League from its inception in 1890. The Afro-American League was revived in Rochester, New York in September of 1898 by T. Thomas Fortune and Alexander Walters, a bishop of the A. M. E. Church. The new organization chose the name the Afro-American Council and was reconstituted on the same basis as the League. The Afro-American Council initially expounded the same philosophy and maintained the same constitutional objectives.[23] Its membership consisted of the most prominent Afro-American leaders of the day.[24] The Council also retained all of the League's glaring deficiencies. Its superstructure of officers and committees was too large for its bourgeois base. The local chapters were few in number, unorganized and not representative of

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[23]Meier, Negro Thought in America, p. 130.

[24]Thornbrough, "The National Afro-American League," p. 501.

the masses. Moreover, the Afro-American Council met in convention only once a year and remained dormant except for the activity of its executive committee, actually a handful of men.[26]

Unfortunately, the Afro-American Council acquired another onus not directly bequeathed to it by the League: the patronage of Booker T. Washington. Although Washington never held an office in the Council and only occasionally participated in the Council's deliberations, his prestige and influence was pervasive and to an increasing extent determined the Council's policy. Washington's role as deus ex machina in Council affairs injected an element of ambiguity about the Council's purpose which eventually split the organization into warring factions. Although initiated as a protest group, by 1904 the Council, expressing fealty towards Washington, devolved into an exponent of the Tuskegee conciliatory philosophy. The Afro-American Council was recaptured briefly by the Niagara men before its demise in 1908.[26]

The call for organization under the Afro-American Council did not strike a responsive cord in Saint Paul. The Appeal, skeptical of the small attendance at the Rochester meeting stated, "it is possible to make the organization a

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[25]The Appeal, January 31, 1903.

[26]Meier, Negro Thought in America, p. 176, 181; Thornbrough, "The National Afro-American League," p. 502.

great power in righting the wrongs of the race, but there must be more enthusiasm than shown at Rochester."[27] Undoubtedly, anticipating another abortive attempt at organizing nationally, John Adams, F. L. McGhee and other black leaders preferred to work within their own organization, the American Law Enforcement League of Minnesota. The American Law Enforcement League was born out of indignation expressed over the lynching of a black postmaster in South Carolina and the general unwillingness of the Federal government to curtail lynching and lawlessness in the South.[28] The League's objectives were "the enforcement of law, the suppression of lawlessness, the moral, intellectual, industrial and economic uplifting of the Afro-American of the United States."[29] Membership was open to people of all races, nationality or creed who were in sympathy with the elevation of the Afro-American. A legal fund was established and funds solicited for the prosecution in court laws prejudicial to black interests.[30] Although John Adams was elected the League's first president on June 12, 1898, William

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[27] The Appeal, September 24, 1898.

[28] Ibid., March 26, 1898; June 18, 1898. Postmaster Frazier Baker was shot and killed along with his infant son while trying to escape his burning residence and office set on fire by residents of Lake City. His wife and daughter were seriously injured in the affair.

[29] The Twin City American, May 18, 1899.

[30] Ibid.

Morris, a Minneapolis lawyer, is credited with being the League's spokesman.[31]

According to available sources there seemed to be little differentiation between the interests of the American Law Enforcement League and the Afro-American Council in Saint Paul until late 1901. Adams and McGhee, both members of the Law Enforcement League, apparently attended the second national convention of the Afro-American Council which was held in Chicago in August of 1899. In subsequent press releases concerning events and resolutions of the Council both delegates from Minnesota were listed as members of the Council's executive committee.[32] Upon his return from the convention Adams made no effort to organize a local chapter. Yet in the spring of 1900 the American Law Enforcement League, supported by The Appeal, sponsored an entertainment program and a mass meeting to raise funds for the Council's court test of the Louisiana sufferage laws.[33] On October 17, 1901 Bishop Walters, president of the National Afro-American Council, came to Saint Paul to confer with community leaders on arrangements for the meeting of the Afro-American Council, Afro-American Press Association and the Pan-African Council in Saint Paul in July of 1902. It was decided that the convention would be

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[31]The Minneapolis Spokesman, April 18, 1958.

[32]The Appeal, February 18, 1899.

[33]Ibid., February 20, 1900; April 28, 1900.

sponsored by the National Businessmen's League aided by a local community planning committee.[34] At the first meeting of the Community Planning Committee, held on November 18, 1901, F. L. McGhee was elected president and John Adams, secretary of the executive planning committee. Unknowingly, these two men began to plan in earnest the meeting which would cause a polarization in the black protest movement across the nation.

Prior to the Afro-American Council convention in Saint Paul opposition to Booker T. Washington amounted to little more than criticism of his compromising and conciliatory approach to race problems and seeming acquiescence in the face of disenfranchisement and segregation in the South.[35] Opposition to Washington was chiefly verbal and represented no organized threat to his leadership. Although anti-Bookerites attempted to pass resolutions condemning Washington at the Council meeting of 1899, they failed because of insufficient strength and organization. Again in 1900 an attack was launched by Washington's critics in an effort to discredit him. However, Washington and his supporters won the day.[36] It was not until 1901 with the establishment of the Boston Guardian edited by William

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[34] Ibid., October 18, 1901.

[35] Thornbrough, "The National Afro-American League," p. 502.

[36] Ibid., p. 503-504.

Monroe Trotter, that the anti-Bookerites found an uncompromising organ of propaganda to champion their cause. The Guardian was established primarily to fight accommodationism. Each issue was strewn with disparaging remarks directed at Washington. W. E. B. DuBois, commenting upon the Guardian stated that "Mr. Washington and his followers literally shrivelled before it [The Guardian], and it was, of course, often as unfair as it was inspired."[37] By the spring of 1902 Trotter and his supporters began to believe that Washington's influence, especially in the affairs of the Council, had not been sufficiently checked. Trotter felt that nothing less than a series of personal confrontations would expose the Tuskegeean. The Trotterites' stratagem was to capture the convention at Saint Paul thus preventing the election to the presidency of a Washington sympathizer and the delivering of a conciliatory Annual Address to the Nation.[38] During the months preceding the conference rumors began to circulate about an impending coup by radical forces at the convention to be held in Saint Paul.[39] Undoubtedly sensing a possible conflict of interest at the convention, Washington and his supporters marshalled their strength in an attempt to bring the Council completely under

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[37]William E. B. DuBois, "William Monroe Trotter" The Crisis Vol. XXXXI (May, 1934), p. 134.

[38]Meier, Negro Thought in America, p. 173-174; Fox, William Monroe Trotter, p. 46.

[39]Fox, William Monroe Trotter, p. 46.

their domination.[40]

Both John Adams and F. L. McGhee were Bookerites prior to the 1902 Convention. Although aware of the criticism directed at Washington, both men apparently were impressed by the Tuskegeean's work in the South. Under the auspices of the American Law Enforcement League, they arranged for Washington to visit Saint Paul on January 17, 1900 after he had addressed a meeting at Duluth. They sponsored a reception for the educator at which he was invited to return in March to participate in their efforts at raising part of a $500,000 national endowment fund for Tuskegee Institute.[41] In an obvious effort to affect good press relations in the upper Midwest, Washington sent a lithograph of Tuskegee Institute and related materials to Adams in April of 1900. This material was reprinted in The Appeal on several occasions.[42] Moreover, in May of 1900 in a letter sent to Adams and subsequently reprinted in The Appeal, the Tuskegeean urged the black community of Saint Paul to cooperate with the census authorities "so that the actual amount of property holding [of Afro-Americans] might be correctly assessed."[43] John Adams gave further comfort

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[40]Meier, Negro Thought in America, p. 173. William Monroe Trotter did not attend the convention in Saint Paul.

[41]The Appeal, January 20, 1900.

[42]Ibid., April 21, 1900.

[43]Ibid., May 5, 1900.

to the Washington cause by praising the establishment of the National Businessmen's League founded by Washington in 1900. Furthermore, Adams established a local chapter in Saint Paul modeled after the parent organization.[44]

For the most part F. L. McGhee was on more intimate terms with the educator than Adams. Because of his reputation as one of the best criminal lawyers in the upper Midwest, McGhee was asked to head the Afro-American Council's legal bureau and its legislative committee.[45] McGhee was active in the affairs of the Council and in his official capacity posed as a supporter of Washington.[46] As a Minnesota delegate to convention meetings, McGhee served on the Council's executive committee. At the convention held in Indianapolis in August of 1900, McGhee chaired the committee that drafted the Council's Annual Address to the Nation.[47] It was undoubtedly the influence of Adams and McGhee at the convention held in 1901 that brought the convention the following year to Saint Paul.

On May 17, 1902 the following call for convention was released in race journals throughout the nation by

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[44] Ibid., June 23, 1900; July 14, 1900; July 21, 1900.

[45] William Bradly Hennessy, Past and Present of Saint Paul Minnesota (Chicago; S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1906), p. 632; Meier, Negro Thought in America, p. 242.

[46] Meier, Negro Thought in America, p. 242.

[47] The Appeal, July 7, 1900.

Bishop Walters:

> To the members of the National Afro-American Council, Delegates from Local Councils and Affiliated Organizations, such as Churches, Colleges, Benevolent Societies, Newspapers and other Racial Organizations.
>
> Greetings:
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> The Fifth Annual Session of the National Afro-American Council will be held in the State House at St. Paul, Minn., July 9th, 10th, and 11th 1902. It is our earnest desire that every Church, College, Benevolent Society and other Race organizations shall be represented. It is greatly desired that this annual meeting shall be the largest and most potent for good of any which the Council has ever held. The condition of the race affairs makes this consummation mandatory. Our main reason for meeting at Saint Paul, Minn., is to create more enthusiasm in the work of the Council in the west.[48]

The Afro-American Council met in the Senate chambers of the State House in Saint Paul, July 9, 1902. A body of fifty delegates, somewhat fewer than anticipated, were on hand for the opening session. Despite warnings of impending trouble from radical forces, the Tuskegee machine won control of the entire convention. Upon his arrival at the convention Booker T. Washington was escorted through the convention floor to a special seat on the platform where his presence physically dominated the meeting.[49] According to The Appeal the sessions of the Council were very beneficial and were well attended. Adams expressed approval of the Council's work and added that:

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[48] Ibid., May 17, 1902.

[49] Ibid., July 19, 1902.

> the reception and treatment accorded the members of the National Afro-American Press Association and National Afro-American Council by the press and the people of the Twin Cities has never been equalled anywhere during the lives of the organization. The homes of the people were thrown open to all comers and the various daily newspapers vied with each other in reporting the proceedings of the meetings. Special photographs of the meeting of both organizations were published together with numerous portraits and sketches of the more prominent personages in attendance.[50]

Despite the aura of enthusiasm created by the editor, the convention sessions were long and stormy. The pro-Washington forces won the first in a series of confrontations by securing over opposition Louisville as the site of the next convention.[51] Next they packed the resolutions committee with known supporters of Booker T. Washington. As if to add insult to injury Washington was also elected to serve with that committee.[52]

In the most spectacular coup of the convention it was decided by persons unknown to hold the nomination and election of officers on the second day of the convention, Thursday July 10th, instead of the final day as scheduled. This procedure was unconstitutional and an amendment to the constitution for this end was not submitted to the body for ratification until the following day.[53] The nomination of

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[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid.

T. Thomas Fortune brought cries of indignation from the opposition. Only after defeating a most determined effort by the opposition was the election of Fortune and a slate of officers amicable to Washington secured.[54] Frustrated in their bid to control the convention, the opposition found another occasion to harrass the Tuskegeean and his entourage. Ida B. Wells Barnett, a long standing opponent of Washington and chairman of the anti-lynching committee, mounted an attack against southern accommodationism in her committee report. Among other things said, she lamented that "the true extent of the lynching outlawry cannot be told."[55]

Washington celebrated his pyrrhic victory by addressing an audience assembled the night of July 10th at Hope Presbyterian Church. In this speech he advised the Council delegates that:

> such organizations as this should bear in mind that we cannot by ourselves help forward the race in any large degree by fault-finding condemning or criticising. We must bear in mind that destruction is easy, construction is difficult; but it is by construction that the ability of a race is measured rather than by destruction of faulty-finding. The object lesson of one negro succeeding in every community as a wealthy properous farmer, or as a contractor, or as a banker, or as a cottonmill owner is worth scores of mere abstract speeches.[56]

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[54] Meier, Negro Thought in America, p. 173-174.

[55] The Appeal, July 19, 1902.

[56] Ibid.

He further chastized the opposition by saying:

> You must not take it as a sign of cowardice if some of us who lived in the South see gleams of hope and encouragement for the race in that part of the country which you up in this section cannot always see.[57]

The Annual Address to the Nation was submitted to the delegates for approval the following day; its text more conciliatory than usual. Later it appears that the opposition tried but failed to gain support for a resolution condemning the racial policies of the Roosevelt administration.[58] The convention then closed without further incident.

Shortly after the convention Emmett Scott, Washington's private secretary, in a letter to Washington expressed pleasure with the treatment accorded DuBois and Ida Wells Barnett in their attempt to control the convention. He further commented that:

> It is not hard for you to understand that we control the Council now . . . It was wonderful to see how completely your personality dominated everything in St. Paul.[59]

In commenting upon the rout of the radicals at the Council meeting The Appeal said:

> These meetings though at times somewhat turbulent owing to the presence of a few malcontents who, however, were not sufficient in number to either

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[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Fox, William Monroe Trotter, p. 46-47; Thornbrough, "The National Afro-American League," p. 504.

> rule or ruin, must be productive of much good among all classes. A feeble attempt was made to input politics into the proceedings of the council and attack the national administration, but fortunately it died a bornin'[60]

Although the Tuskegee machine was victorious at Saint Paul, their victory was not won without costs. Washington's naked demonstration of power alienated several influential members of the Council, who for several years were listed among his supporters. Their desertion strengthened the radical cause by giving to it the ablest minds and voices of the day. Opposing further extension of Washington's influence in Council affairs, F. L. McGhee voted against the candidacy of T. Thomas Fortune and thereafter identified himself with the radical cause.[61] Having felt Washington's authoritarianism, W. E. B. DuBois began to make overtures towards the radical leadership. Although sympathizing with the radical cause, DuBois continued to be a moderate voice in Council affairs. At first fearful that his position at Atlanta University would provoke an unnecessary rivalry with Tuskegee, DuBois hesitated to make an open break with Washington.[62] It was not until the spring of 1903 with the release of The Souls of Black Folk

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[60] The Appeal, July 19, 1902.

[61] Meier, Negro Thought in America, p. 242.

[62] Samuel Spencer, Booker T. Washington and the Negro's Place in American Life (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1955), p. 149.

that DuBois' transition became all but complete. DuBois' final capitulation to the radical cause after the Louisville convention of 1903 gave to the radical movement that degree of respectability and leadership which Trotter could not offer.[63] Although temporarily demoralized by their failure at Saint Paul, the radicals still under the leadership of William Monroe Trotter had regained sufficient strength by the summer of 1903 to mount another attack upon the citadel at the Louisville convention.

The Afro-American Council met in Louisville on July 1, 1903. Acting upon rumors of another confrontation planned for Louisville, the Tuskegeean's supporters worked feverishly during the spring to keep the Council within their control.[64] The result of their sustained effort was yet another decisive defeat for the radical leadership. The radicals, William Monroe Trotter, George W. Forbes, William H. Ferris and F. L. McGhee, initially confined their activity to securing passage of resolutions designed to give the Council a more militant posture. One resolution called for the endorsement of agitation as a legitimate means by which to obtain civil rights. Another condemned the revision of state constitutions in the South as "a diabolical crime." All of the resolutions presented were

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[63]Rudwick, W. E. B. DuBois, pp. 77-93, passim.

[64]Meier, Negro Thought in America, p. 176.

defeated with the exception of one which called for the Roosevelt Administration to secure legislation reducing southern representation in Congress.[65] Denied parliamentary privileges and outmaneuvered in every attempt to influence the Council into taking a more aggressive stance, the radicals finally denounced Washington outright and vehemently demanded that an imposing picture of Washington be removed from the convention hall.[66]

At the request of Booker T. Washington the news media was asked not to report the disruptive incidents of the Council.[67] Although John Adams was present at the Council meeting, The Appeal did not print a synopsis of the events at Louisville as was customary. His refusal to do so despite the fact that other race journals ignored Washington's request can only be taken as a sign of support for the Tuskegeean. John Adams was also elected the Third Vice President of the Council and served on the resolution committee which drafted the Annual Address to the Nation, reputed to be more conciliatory than the previous year.[68]

Overconfident in his victory at Louisville, Washington wasted no time in pursuing his opponents.

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[65] Ibid., p. 48.

[66] Ibid., The Washington Bee, August 8, 1903.

[67] Rudwick, W. E. B. DuBois, p. 71-72.

[68] The Appeal, July 18, 1903; February 3, 1904; Meier, Negro Thought in America, p. 176.

Heretofore, Washington had declined speaking engagements in Trotter's Boston stronghold. However, by accepting an invitation to address the Boston Men's Business League at Zion A. M. E. Church in Boston, Washington issued a challenge to the radicals which could not be taken lightly.

On July 30, 1903, Washington made his appearance at the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Overzealous supporters of Washington filled the church with greater than capacity crowds endeavoring to show support for the Tuskegeean. Many came only because it was rumored that "something was going to happen."[69] At the meeting Trotter attempted to ply Washington with potentially embarrassing questions. When Washington refused to acknowledge the questions, an attempt was then made by T. Thomas Fortune, a guest speaker, and other supporters of Washington to deny the radicals the floor for further questions. At this point the crowd became unruly and someone released red pepper and stink bombs in the building. Although Trotter apparently had nothing to do with the latter he was nevertheless charged with disrupting a public meeting. As the result of his role in the disruptive events William Monroe Trotter served one month in jail.[70]

Ostensibly uninformed as to the true nature of the

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[69]Rudwick, W. E. B. Dubois, p. 73.

[70]Ibid., p. 73-74.

spectacle in Boston, the editor of The Appeal warned:

> the hoodlums who attempted to break up the Booker T. Washington meeting in Boston last week will defeat their own ends if they continue along the same lines of lawlessness. If they have any arguments to present in answer to Mr. Washington's propaganda they ought to present them in a legitimate way. They cannot hope to win by violence, any more than the mobocrats can. And as they are the greatest sufferers from mob violence, this ought to teach them a bitter lesson . . . We are unalterably opposed to lawlessness in an individual or a special class of persons and all good sensible people are.[71]

The Boston incident was a catalyst among good sensible people in black intellectual circles. It presented an issue of sufficient magnitude to cause further opposition against Washington's leadership. Many of the young conservative black men, feeling that Trotter was harshly treated now readily joined the radical cause.[72] Denied the right to oppose Washington, the radicals, under the leadership of W. E. B. DuBois broke into open revolt. The extent of the uproar which resulted from the jailing of Trotter caused the editor of The Appeal to entertain second thoughts about the Tuskegeean. Responding to vicious criticism of The Appeal's heretofore uncompromising support of Booker T. Washington, John Adams published an oblique denunciation of Washington in October of 1903. He emphasized the fact that The Appeal was independent of the Tuskegeean's influence

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[71] The Appeal, August 8, 1903.

[72] DuBois, "William Monroe Trotter," p. 134.

and printed a platform outlining the editor's beliefs.[73]

Although John Adams did not completely sever his relationship with the Tuskegeean after 1903, Washington's exposure in The Appeal diminished considerably. John Adams retained his affiliation with the Afro-American Council despite the fact that by 1904 its vitality had been sapped by internal schism. Many of the younger and more able leaders severed their ties with the hopelessly stymied organization after 1904.

In March of 1905 W. E. B. DuBois paid a visit to Saint Paul to deliver a lecture at Plymouth Congregational Church. While in Saint Paul DuBois was the guest of F. L. McGhee.[74] It is a matter for conjecture whether these two men discussed DuBois' plan for calling a meeting of black intellectuals later that year. The possibility of such a conversation is far from remote. In June of 1905, a scant three months after their meeting, an invitation was sent from Atlanta University to uncompromising anti-Bookerites who were willing to organize to promote "aggressive action on the part of men who believed in Negro freedom and growth."[75]

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[73] The Appeal, October 29, 1903.

[74] Ibid., March 4, 1905.

[75] William E. B. DuBois, Dusk of Dawn: An Essay Toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1940), p. 88; Herbert Aptheker, A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States Vol. II (New York: Citadel Press, 1964), pp. 900-901.

Fifty-nine men representing seventeen states were invited to participate in secret deliberations scheduled for the week of July 9, 1905, at Niagara Falls, New York.[76] Because the American hotels refused to host the delegation the conference met at Fort Erie Beach Hotel on the Canadian side.[77] Twenty-nine men representing fourteen states were present at the founding of the Niagara Movement.[78]

F. L. McGhee was invited to join in the deliberations at Niagara. Despite the fact that he still rendered legal services for Booker T. Washington and the Afro-American Council, he had long earned the reputation of an uncompromising radical. Later McGhee became the chairman of the Niagara Movement Legal Department.[79] Despite Adams' movement away from the Tuskegee Camp, he was not invited to join the Niagara Movement; nor did he join its local chapter in Saint Paul.[80] Adams' pro-Washington stance alienated him from the vanguard of the black protest movement in the United States. Under the leadership of younger men, the protest movement with its ever excelerating pace and burgeoning intellectual force by-passed the aging editor.

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[76]DuBois, Dusk of Dawn, p. 88.

[77]Spencer, Booker T. Washington, p. 156; The Cleveland Gazette, July 5, 1905.

[78]DuBois, Dusk of Dawn, p. 88.

[79]Meier, Negro Thought in America, p. 242.

[80]The Appeal, July 15, 1905; November 25, 1905.

With the demise of the Afro-American Council The Appeal found itself outside the mainstream of organized black activism, a position it had not experienced since its inception. Although he endorsed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Adams did not immediately agitate for a local chapter nor did he initially support William Monroe Trotter's National Independent Political League (NIPL), a rival organization.

After 1900 The Appeal suffered a dramatic decline in prestige and circulation. By 1913 the once-heralded national Afro-American newspaper was reduced to the status of a local weekly. The Appeal closed its Dallas office in April of 1901, its Washington D. C. office in January, 1903, and its St. Louis and Louisville offices in October, 1903.[81] There is evidence to suggest that the Chicago Appeal was purchased outright by C. F. Adams prior to 1908.[82] In March of 1913 the Chicago Appeal ceased publication leaving the Saint Paul and Minneapolis offices as the sole remnant of a once proud journalistic empire.[83] Between the years 1904 and 1912 The Appeal experienced a period of quiescence. It undertook few important campaigns of a racial nature with

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[81] Mikel, "A History of Negro Newspapers in Minnesota," p. 11.

[82] The Appeal, December 5, 1908.

[83] Ibid., March 29, 1913. There was no formal announcement to this end found in this issue. On this date Chicago was no longer listed as a center for distribution.

the exception of promoting the candidacy of William T. Francis, a black Minneapolis lawyer, for the state legislature in March 1906 and publically differing with President Roosevelt over his handling of the Brownsville incident later that same year.[84]

On September 12, 1910 the black community of Saint Paul celebrated the Quarto-Centennial Anniversary of The Appeal's founding in 1885. A grand testimonial and entertainment program was presented in Adams' honor at the Junior Pioneer Hall. F. D. Parker, The Appeal's first editor, was The Master of Ceremonies and Mayor H. P. Keller delivered the opening address.[85] The following year on September 18, 1911 the community sponsored another testimonial honoring the twenty-fifth anniversary of Adams' editorship of the paper. At this occasion Governor A. O. Eberhart delivered the opening address. When requested to impart his feelings after editing The Appeal for one quarter of a century, Adams responded:

> for the past quarter of a century despite all counter influences - and they have not been a

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[84] Ibid., March 6, 1906. On August 6, 1906 a group of black soldiers disgruntled with the treatment accorded them by citizens of Brownsville, Texas slipped into town that night and in a shooting spree one citizen was killed. Because the guilty parties would not own up and because their fellow soldiers would not inform on them, three companies of about 160 men were discharged without honor and severance of all pensions. This event was covered in The Appeal between August and November of 1906.

[85] Ibid., September 24, 1910.

> few - I have maintained The Appeal, it never having missed an issue in all that time. The Appeal may not have been; and, may not be now, all that some of you have thought it should be; and, in fact, it never was all I might, could, should, or would have had it. No man has ever yet conducted a newspaper, or anything else, for that matter, that completely suited everybody - and never will. I might have done better, though, if I had had the proper moral and financial support of the people in whose interest it has ever labored . . . [86]

During The Appeal's quiescent years John Adams was apparently drawn closer to the militant cause and further from Washington. In 1912 at the age of sixty-four Adams ended his quasi-retirement from the vanguard of black activism and help found the Twin City Protective League, an organization which sought to ameliorate the condition of the Afro-American in the Twin Cities.[87] John Adams was elected the League's secretary and both Adams and McGhee served on its executive committee.[88] At the League's first meeting the participants decided to join the NAACP and Dr. Val Do Turner and F. L. McGhee were chosen to represent the Twin Cities at the NAACP national convention held in Chicago in April of 1912.[89] Although the Twin City Protective League retained an active membership in the NAACP, a local branch of that organization was not established in Saint Paul until

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[86] Ibid., October 28, 1911.

[87] The Appeal, March 30, 1912.

[88] Ibid., April 6, 1912.

[89] Ibid., March 30, 1912; April 6, 1912.

September 19, 1913.[90]

In January of 1913 a bill prohibiting interracial marriages in Minnesota was introduced before the state legislature by Representatives Southwick and Nemmock. The Southwick-Nemmock Bill made the marriage between a white and anyone with one-eight African blood a misdemeanor. Such marriages performed outside of the state would be denied recognition. On January 31, 1913 an eleven-member delegation led by W. T. Francis appeared before the House Judiciary Committee to testify against the Southwick-Nemmock Bill. William Morris, Dr. Val Do Turner and J. Q. Adams were among the delegates present. W. T. Francis addressed the committee at length and with the professional expertise of Dr. J. H. Ridd, who testified favorably to the physical condition of children born of interracial marriages succeeded in thwarting the passage of the bill.[91]

Scarcely one year after being assisted into the White House by blacks, President Wilson consented to segregation within federal offices. Acting upon the suggestion of

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[90] Ibid., September 13, 1913. The local chapter of the NAACP was established in memory of F. L. McGhee who died September 19, 1912 from a respiratory ailment. McGhee had sought the establishment of a local chapter of the NAACP but died before his work was consummated. McGhee was well loved and respected by the community who for several years held memorial services for him on the anniversary of his death.

[91] Minnesota House Journal, 1913, p. 77; The Twin City Star, February 8, 1913; Spangler, The Negro in Minnesota, p. 92.

Postmaster General Albert S. Burleson and without one dissenting voice in the cabinet, Wilson in April of 1913 took the unprecedented step to reduce "friction . . . discontent and uneasiness, which has prevailed in many of the departments."[92] Immediately, federal employees were segregated in the Bureau of the Census, Bureau of Printing and Engraving, the Department of the Treasury and the Post Office. Despite civil service tenure, those black employees who objected to being segregated were summarily dismissed.[93] This unwarranted infringement of minority rights prompted cries of indignation from both black and whites nationally.

In the fall of 1913 William Monroe Trotter decided to petition President Wilson for redress. Through the Guardian he attempted to create strong public sentiment against the segregation of federal employees by circulating a petition to be presented directly to the President.[94] In an attempt to aid the Guardian editor, The Appeal reprinted the petition blanks urging the Twin Citians to show "dissatisfaction with the outrageous discrimination [sic] which are constantly perpetrated upon us."[95] Again

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[92]Fox, William Monroe Trotter, p. 171.

[93]Arthur S. Link, Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era (New York: Harper and Row, 1954), p. 63-67, passim.

[94]Fox, William Monroe Trotter, p. 175; The Appeal, October 25, 1913.

[95]The Appeal, August 23, 1913.

at the Emancipation Celebration held in Saint Paul September 30, 1913 a resolution was drafted and forwarded by The Appeal presumably to Washington condemning the administration and praising the attempt by Senator Moses Clapp of Minnesota to establish a Senate inquiry into the matter.[96]

On November 6, 1913 a committee representing the National Independent Political League and composed of William Monroe Trotter, Reverend Dr. Byron Gunner, Dr. William A. Sinclair, president of the NIPL, W. Maurice Spencer, Thomas Walker, F. M. Murray and Mrs. Ida Wells Barnett, presented a petition containing 20,000 names collected from 38 states to President Wilson.[97] In an interview lasting 35 minutes the President listened to the grievances of the delegation and promised that he would personally review the matter.[98]

Acting in good faith Trotter wrote periodically to the President for one year reminding him of his pledge. He received no reply from the President. In September of 1914 John Adams, chafing from Wilson's obvious lack of concern, wrote to the Boston editor and suggested that he obtain another audience with Wilson. To defray the expenses

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[96] Ibid., October 4, 1913.

[97] Ibid., November 22, 1913.

[98] Ibid.; Fox, William Monroe Trotter, p. 175.

involved in traveling to Washington D. C., Adams enclosed a small collection solicited from The Appeal and its subscribers. Later Trotter credited Adams with inspiring him to confront the President.[99]

On November 14, 1914 a delegation representing the National Equal Rights League headed by William Monroe Trotter appeared before the President to "renew the protest and appeal." After listening to the President's defense of federal segregation, Trotter refuted Wilson's arguments. President Wilson viewed Trotter's manners as insulting and promptly moved to end the meeting suggesting that the organization obtain another spokesman if they were to be granted another audience.[100] The insuing furor over Trotter's reception at the White House was second only to the cries of righteous indignation expressed when Booker T. Washington dined with President Roosevelt. For his manly defense of Afro-American rights Trotter was castigated by the white press and praised by race journals.

After a visit to Chicago in January of 1915 Trotter wired to Saint Paul requesting permission to speak to its black citizenry on behalf of the National Equal Rights League. John Adams immediately extended an invitation to

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[99]The Appeal, September 12, 1914; January 16, 1915.

[100]Link, Woodrow Wilson, p. 66; Fox, William Monroe Trotter, p. 180.

Trotter to be his guest during the latter's visit to the city. With the aid of community leaders Adams prepared a grand reception for the Guardian editor. On January 15, 1915 Trotter addressed a larger than capacity crowd at St. James A. M. E. Church. He related in detail the now famous encounter with the President and denied any intent to insult him. After a brief musical intermission, Trotter called for the establishment of a local chapter of the NERL in Saint Paul. He then opened the floor for nomination for the presidency of this chapter. John Adams was nominated and unanimously elected.[101]

William Monroe Trotter's visit to Saint Paul was very successful and culminated in a strong friendship between the two editors. The first meeting of the Saint Paul chapter of the NERL was held at St. James Mission.[102] Responding to a request by the National League the Saint Paul chapter sent letters to Senators Knute Nelson and Moses E. Clapp of Minnesota asking their cooperation in opposing Jim Crow legislation proposed for the District of Columbia.[103] John Adams received replies from both Senators expressing assurances that the proposed legislation would

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[101] The Appeal, January 16, 1915. The National Equal Rights League was the name given to the National Independent Political League after its reorganization under William Monroe Trotter.

[102] Ibid., January 23, 1915.

[103] Ibid., February 27, 1915; March 3, 1915.

never reach the Senate floor.[104]

In October of 1915 the NERL, NAACP and representatives from other social and racial organizations in Saint Paul were invited to a private showing of the film "The Birth of a Nation." It was of general consensus that its showing to the public would have a prejudicial effect against the entire black race.[105] Initially an effort was made to prevent the premiere showing of the film in the Twin Cities. However, the film was shown with the most objectionable portions deleted.[106] Only after strenuous protest did the black community succeed in compelling the city governments of Saint Paul and Minneapolis to revoke the licenses issued for the showing of the film.[107] The banning of "The Birth of a Nation" represented a triumph for advocates of the protest tradition in the Twin Cities.

Booker T. Washington died at Tuskegee November 13, 1915 from nervous exhaustion and arteriosclerosis.[108] His death marked the ebb tide of accommodationism and brought to an end twenty years of overt conflict between the Tuskegee Philosophy and advocates of the protest tradition.

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[104] Ibid., March 20, 1915.

[105] Ibid., October 23, 1915.

[106] Ibid., October 30, 1915.

[107] Ibid., November 13, 1915.

[108] Spencer, Booker T. Washington, p. 194.

Perhaps his death was timely for had he lived another five years Washington would have witnessed the explosion of racial violence which would rock the country during and in the aftermath of the Great War. Moreover, the Black Nationalist Movement of Marcus Garvey would surely have given the Tuskegeean apoplexy.

Elsewhere the dark and foreboding clouds of an international conflict which The Appeal labeled "horrible, inhuman [and] . . . unnecessary" loomed on the horizon. With American involvement in the Great War John Adams openly criticized President Wilson's plans to free Europe with a segregated army of liberation.

CHAPTER V

"World Safe for Democracy"

On August 4, 1914 Great Britain declared war upon Germany. This was the last act in a series of bellicose words and deeds which tossed Europe into a general conflagration unparalled in destruction. America's initial response was strict neutrality. However, in April of 1917 the United States, whose fortunes were irrevocably bound to the allied powers, declared war against Germany.

President Wilson believed that American intervention in the European War would bring hostilities to a speedy conclusion and that in the peace to follow America's moral leadership would insure a world safe for democracy. In addressing Congress on April 2, 1917 the President emphasized that in the post-war world the right of self-determination of a people would be the cornerstone of lasting world peace. Self-determination, he said, was

> more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts - for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their government.[1]

War came to America with dramatic suddeness and with

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[1] Link, Woodrow Wilson, p. 281-282.

it a crescendo of war hysteria and unbridled patriotism swept the country. Black Americans initially afflicted by war fever later faced a moral dilemma; whether to refuse military service because of racial injustices and face possible recrimination and additional oppression at home or to demonstrate a solidarity of purpose against a common national enemy in hopes that white America might accord Afro-Americans full rights for their sacrifices. Actually, there was but one choice and that was to support the war effort despite the costs. Thus Afro-American soldiers were transported in segregated railway cars to segregated training camps, fought valorously in segregated units, were buried in segregated cemeteries and eventually returned to segregated and hostile communities.

During the war lynching continued unabated in the South while racial violence errupted with increasing frequency and intensity in northern cities. The moral hypocrisy of Wilson's rhetoric was not lost upon the black citizenry. It was to this dichotomy between Wilsonian rhetorical fantasy and reality that The Appeal addressed its final protest. While supporting the war effort, John Adams continued to flail away at the national administration for its failure to make America safe for democracy.

The Appeal considered the European War a cataclysmic nightmare of death and destruction and expressed hope that the United States would honorably avoid involvement. In

March of 1917, when the United States entry into the war seemed imminent, Adams confidently stated that in such an eventuality the colored people would shoulder their share of the responsibility in that they have never "been disloyal to their native land."[2] Yet in a letter to W. E. B. DuBois, Adams expressed fears of a possible attempt by Congress to secure legislation segregating West Point and other equally "pernicious measures" prejudicial to the interests of black servicemen. To insure that such an attempt would not go unchallenged Adams enclosed a check to aid the NAACP in lobbying against such measures.[3]

At the outset of America's involvement in the war The Appeal expressed the hope that the conclusion of this war would herald a millennium of human brotherhood and an advancement of true democracy despite opposing forces.[4] As a step in the proper direction The Appeal suggested that the federal government as a necessary war measure intervene to stop lynching in the South.[5] What ever hopes Adams held for such action were quickly dispelled by continued lynchings and serious racial rioting which erupted in St. Louis in July 1917. Moreover, increased racial proscription

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[2]The Appeal, March 3, 1917.

[3]Ibid., March 31, 1917.

[4]Ibid., June 30, 1917.

[5]Ibid., June 9, 1917.

in the military and civilian life prompted Adams on the Fifty-First Celebration of the Emancipation Proclamation to call for another emancipation from racial discrimination, "a condition almost as damnable as slavery."[6]

The Appeal was not alone in its demand for redress from a country fighting for world democracy. In June of 1918 a National Colored Liberty Congress was held in Boston under the auspices of the New England Equal Rights League to express grievances against racial discrimination. The objectives of this black gathering were "to secure from the Government guarantee of the abolition of disfranchisement and all caste discrimination, civil and political."[7] The Liberty Congress, noting the incongruity of the situation, declared that:

> While President Wilson is declaring that the U.S.A. is fighting for "World Democracy," disfranchisement, Jim-Crowism, lynching and even massacre go on here at home, and the government itself, is creating new segregation for this very army of democracy . . . Unless we secure redress out of this war for which our boys are drafted to fight for "World Democracy," disfranchisement will never be abolished and WE OURSELVES WILL BE TO BLAME FOR NOT RACIALLY DEMANDING IT FROM THE GOVERNMENT.[8]

In July 1918 the National Colored Liberty Congress reconvened in Washington D. C. and attempted but failed to obtain a hearing to present its case before a joint

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[6] Ibid., July 21, 1917; September 22, 1917.

[7] Ibid., May 18, 1918.

[8] Ibid., May 11, 1918.

session of the House and Senate. The convention leadership then sought an audience with the President who tactfully denied the request but sent a confidential message to the assembled leaders.[9] Unable to obtain satisfaction from either Congress or the White House the convention ended.

Sensing a possible end in the European hostilities the National Equal Rights League in national convention at Chicago in September 1918 called for the meeting of another black congress in the nation's capital "to elect race petitioners to be sent to intercede for full democracy for colored Americans."[10] An unexpected armistice was reached in November and peace negotiations were promptly scheduled to begin late January of the following year. Altering plans accordingly a National Colored Congress for World Democracy met earlier than scheduled in closed sessions at Washington December 20, 1918. From its deliberations eleven delegates were elected to attend the World Peace Conference at Versailles. Among those chosen to attend were William Monroe Trotter and Ida Wells Barnett.[11]

The Appeal endorsed the efforts of both black congresses but expressed reservations about the role that the black delegates would play at Versailles. Adams

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[9] Ibid., July 13, 1918.

[10] Ibid., October 12, 1918; Fox, William Monroe Trotter pp. 221-222.

[11] The Appeal, January 4, 1919.

editorialized this concern after the National Colored Congress began to solicit funds to defray the expenses of the delegates to Versailles. Afro-Americans from each state were requested to contribute five hundred dollars to the cause. Although the Saint Paul chapter of the National Equal Rights League raised $63.70 of its $75.00 assessment, John Adams suggested that five strong men with ability would accomplish more than eleven persons chosen because they were "nice people."[12] In an attempt to clarify some of the popular misconceptions concerning the black delegates The Appeal stated that these representatives had no official status, would not be seated at the conference nor allowed inside the palace of Versailles. The delegates represented nothing more than a moral force lobbying for liberty outside of the conference doors.[13] Despite these reservations the editor endorsed their efforts on behalf of black Americans.

Unable to participate directly in the deliberations of the black congresses in Washington John Adams wired a letter to President Wilson on the eve of his departure for Europe. In this letter Adams reviewed the sacrifices made by blacks in the defense of world democracy and asked the President to use his influence as the elected representative of the American people to abrogate the world color barrier

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[12] Ibid., January 11, 1919; January 18, 1919.

[13] Ibid., January 18, 1919.

as a necessity for future world peace. Adams also mentioned the importance of self-determination of all world peoples and outlined an eleven-point program which ought to be included in any forthcoming peace settlement.[14]

The State Department, on the pretext that the French government looked unfavorably upon the purpose of the black peace delegates, denied the black petitioners passports. Unable to leave the country the delegates under the auspices of the National Colored Congress for World Democracy circulated a World Democracy Peace Petition calling upon the Senate to present their demands before the Peace Conference.[15] Taking the money collected to sponsor the delegates abroad William Monroe Trotter, through deception, secured a berth aboard a French freighter as second cook and managed to leave the country. Unfortunately, he reached Paris too late to have any impact upon the peace negotiations.[16] Commenting upon Trotter's accomplishment, The Appeal called it a "remarkable feat" and expressed hope that despite the late date some of the original plans might somehow be

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[14] Ibid., December 7, 1918.

[15] The black delegates demonstrated extreme irritation with the fact that the State Department granted passports to a delegation of Irish-Americans lobbying for self-determination of Ireland before the world body. It was felt that if Irish-Americans were encouraged to interfere in the internal affairs of Great Britain, Afro-Americans ought to be given the privilege to speak of the internal affairs of the United States.

[16] The Appeal, April 26, 1919; May 10, 1919; Fox, William Monroe Trotter, pp. 224-230.

salvaged.[17]

Since their meeting in Saint Paul in 1915 John Adams remained a firm admirer and supporter of William Monroe Trotter. On several occasions The Appeal extolled the virtues of the Guardian and its editor often referring to him as an "uncompromising advocate of right and justice."[18] When Trotter's wife, Geraldine, died in November 1918 The Appeal contributed a sum of money toward the three thousand dollar memorial fund established in her honor and urged subscribers to show their appreciation for Mrs. Trotter's "sacrifice and . . . service [to] that fearless . . . uncompromising journal, The Boston Guardian."[19] Again in June of 1920 Adams enclosed another check in a letter to Trotter to assist him in his fight against a proposed segregated YMCA for Boston. In closing Adams remarked, "I glory in the fact that you are always ready to protect against Wrong and do not hesitate even when the devil, Wrong comes masquerading in the habiliments of the Christ."[20]

There is ample evidence to suggest that in the closing years of his life John Adams closely identified with and drew spiritually nearer to the uncompromising philosophy

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[17] The Appeal, May 10, 1919.

[18] Ibid., January 16, 1915; May 10, 1919.

[19] Ibid., November 2, 1918.

[20] Ibid., July 3, 1920.

of the Boston editor. For three decades it had been the editorial policy of The Appeal to refrain from criticizing by name Afro-American leaders. Yet the aging editor departed from this time-honored policy after the war. The Appeal publically referred to R. R. Moton, successor to Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee Institute, as a menace to the freedom of blacks and to his speeches as "nauseating." In a particularly acidulous editorial Adams referred to Moton as "a man of sparse and meagre training . . . [who] is very poorly lettered in comparison with other men of his race. He cannot be accredited with depth of thought or originality: he has merely followed in the beaten footsteps of his predecessor, Booker T. Washington."[21] In another editorial The Appeal ridiculed the Garvey-inspired "Back to Abyssinia" movement in Chicago as "a lot of ignorant black men attired in fantastic garments," and cautioned short-sighted black men with visions of a "negro republic" in Africa who were forgetting the needs of twelve million blacks in the United States.[22] Later Adams referred to Marcus Garvey by name labeling him a "jimcrowist" of the first order and placing him in the same school as Moton and Washington.[23]

Although advocating a firm stand against further

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[21] Ibid., March 26, 1921; July 15, 1922.

[22] Ibid., March 8, 1919; July 3, 1920.

[23] Ibid., July 29, 1922.

proscription of the race, The Appeal spoke out against violence as a means to redress. In the summer of 1919 Adams pleaded with the black population to remain cool despite the outbreak of racial violence in Washington, Chicago and New York City. He reasoned with the frustrated citizenry that "no good can come from incendiary talk . . . It would be futile as the colored people have neither wealth nor guns and are outnumbered five to one." The editor further cautioned blacks never to be the aggressor "but defend yourself if wantonly attacked."[24] To buttress his non-violent stance Adams strengthened his ties with the NAACP and the NERL locally. In November 1919 John Adams was elected to the Board of Directors of the Saint Paul branch of the NAACP while concurrently serving as the honorary chairman of the Saint Paul chapter of the NERL. In the following years The Appeal helped to spearhead the local NAACP membership drive.[25]

On June 14, 1920 a number of Negroes from a traveling circus performing in Duluth, Minnesota allegedly assaulted a white girl. Immediately six suspects were arrested and detained at the Duluth city jail by the local authorities. The next night a mob estimated in size between one thousand and ten thousand strong stormed the jail

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[24] Ibid., August 30, 1919.

[25] Ibid., February 1, 1919; November 29, 1919.

seizing the prisoners. A short distance away a mock trial was held resulting in three of the six accused being lynched.[26] Governor J. A. A. Burnquist, President of the Saint Paul Branch of the NAACP, ordered troops into the city to keep the peace and ordered a full investigation of the event. The Appeal expressed indignation and shock that such behavior could occur in Minnesota. Immediately black lawyers were furnished by the local NAACP to defend the rights of the remaining accused. A grand jury was convened to investigate and as the result of their findings ten blacks were arrested, two were arraigned and indicted for assault but only one was eventually convicted. Of the rioters eighteen were arraigned for murder and inciting to riot. Two of the number were convicted of rioting and given nominal sentences.[27]

As the result of the tragic episode at Duluth the state legislature was moved to pass an anti-lynching law. Through the efforts of Minneapolis attorney W. T. Francis and his wife such legislation was secured in April of 1921. The law authorized the Governor to remove from office for reason of malfeasance any law enforcement officer who failed to employ all legal means available to prevent a lynching. Moreover, the dependents of the person lynched would be

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[26]The Duluth Herald, June 15, 1920; June 16, 1920.

[27]The Appeal, June 19, 1920; Spangler, The Negro in Minnesota, p. 100-102.

compensated for their loss by a sum not to exceed $7,500.[28] Shortly thereafter Representative L. C. Dyer of Missouri introduced similar legislation into the House of Representatives to make lynching a federal offense.[29]

William Monroe Trotter revisited Saint Paul in January of 1921 as a house guest of John Adams. Trotter made several appearances at mass meetings in the Twin Cities. At one such program chaired by John Adams at Pilgrim Baptist Church Trotter related the machinations involved in his attempt to leave the country and later his experiences in France and at Versailles. At the close of the program an informal reception was held, donations to cover the expenses of his visit solicited, and a committee appointed to resurrect the languishing chapter of the NERL.[30]

John Adams paid his last tribute to his contemporary on Trotter's 50th birthday April 7, 1922. Noting that Trotter had "done more to fight jimcrowism and to inspire in the colored people a determination to battle for their rights than any living man of the race," Adams sent a check

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[28]Session Laws of the State of Minnesota, 1921, p. 612; The Appeal, April 23, 1921; Spangler, The Negro in Minnesota, p. 103.

[29]The Appeal, July 30, 1921.

[30]Ibid., January 15, 1921; Mrs. Idina Gibbs recalled that during his stay at their home Trotter was rather somber in disposition and serious in nature. He would often relate many of his experiences while abroad which her father found amusing and daring. Interview, Idina (Adams) Gibbs.

to a Fifty-Year Fund established by Bostonians to aid Trotter in his work. Again The Appeal petitioned its subscribers to support this cause.[31] This was Adams' last demonstration of comradeship for six months later his life was taken in a freak accident.

Before his death an attempt was made by the city of Saint Paul to create a playground for the benefit of colored children in the city. The Appeal called upon the community to resist this subtle incursion of Jim Crowism. He warned that:

> One of the strange phases of jimcrowism in these days [is] in the fact that nine-tenths of the plans to degrade the colored people into a pariah class are conceived in the brains of people who call themselves Christians. In the majority of cases when the colored man is kicked down it is "for his benefit" and "in the name of the Lord."[32]

Adams therefore cautioned black Twin Citians to be eternally vigilant for the "Jimcrow crowd is working while you are asleep."[33]

On Sunday afternoon September 3, 1922 John Adams left his home to attend a gospel revival at the Alliance Gospel Tabernacle located at Fry and Charles streets. Upon leaving the meeting he proceeded to the trolley line on University Avenue. As he boarded the streetcar, an automobile spun out

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[31] Ibid., March 18, 1922.

[32] Ibid., July 1, 1922.

[33] Ibid., May 20, 1922.

of control and struck the aged editor, knocking him to the pavement. Adams was immediately rendered unconscious sustaining a fractured skull, a broken right arm and internal injuries. Although he was rushed by ambulance to the city hospital, there was little the medical staff could do. John Adams died without regaining consciousness at midnight Sunday at the age of seventy-four.[34]

Funeral services for the departed leader were held September 8, 1922 at Pilgrim Baptist Church. A larger than capacity crowd came to pay its last respects and to hear messages of condolence from throughout the nation for the man who had provided leadership in the community for thirty-seven years. After the eulogies the community filed past the funeral bier for a final view of the editor. At the end of the ceremony John Quincy Adams was laid to rest at Oakland cemetery, Minneapolis.[35]

The Appeal outlasted its veteran editor by almost two years. John Adams Jr. continued to publish The Appeal after his father's death. However, in April of 1923 the paper and job order shop were reorganized under the name of The Appeal Publishing Company with John Adams Jr. its president, Idina Gibbs, vice president, and Roy Wilkins, treasurer. Wilkins, a recent graduate of the University of Minnesota School of

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[34] Ibid., September 9, 1922.

[35] Ibid., September 16, 1922.

Journalism, also became The Appeal's managing editor and principal editorialist. Although the subscription rate was reduced, a new journalistic format established and a subscription contest held, The Appeal languished financially. It was soon apparent that John Adams Jr. lacked the business acumen of his father and the decision was made to sell the paper. The Appeal was later purchased by the Northwestern Bulletin, a rival race journal established in February of 1922. The result of the merger, The Northwestern Bulletin-Appeal survived for several years until the rising costs of publication forced its owners to sell out.[36]

In The Appeal's thirty-seven year history it never showed a profit. It was supported in large measure by revenue from the job order print shop and other sources of income commanded by John Adams. It was said by those who knew John Adams that The Appeal's advertisements were the plasma of the paper. Those who subscribed to The Appeal somehow never felt morally obligated to pay for the journal thus depriving it of several thousands of dollars over the years. Despite the fact that the newspaper was not financially remunerative, Adams continued to publish never missing an issue.

Financial considerations were secondary to John Adams for he was a pragmatist with a purpose. Foremost in

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[36]The Appeal, April 7, 1923; July 28, 1923; Interview, Idina (Adams) Gibbs.

his thoughts was the Judeo-Christian belief in the dignity and equality of man. Consistent with his beliefs Adams demanded for the Afro-American the dignity that was his by right of citizenship and equality before the law as guaranteed to all citizens by the Constitution. Every act in his private and public life was dedicated to the consummation of this end, without deference to business or personal success. As is the lot of black pragmatists he continued in the pursuit of this goal despite costs, obstacles and periods of frustration and despair.

John Adams was one of the last post-reconstruction editors who survived into the twentieth century. Race journals founded during the reconstruction years were established for purposes of racial uplift, protest and as a means of communication. Editors, because of their professions, usually found themselves as leaders in the vanguard of race activism. Thus in the pages of the late nineteenth century race journals the protest tradition was nurtured, given a media of expression and wide dissemination. The opening decades of the twentieth century witnessed the proliferation of racial leagues and organizations which specialized in advancing the Black cause thus reducing the race press to a supportive role. After the war the NAACP and the Urban League in the Twin Cities assumed the role of community leadership once enjoyed by The Appeal. Reduced to a supportive role The Appeal, lacking its original

sweeping purpose, began its final decline. Its vitality died with its editor, and two years later The Appeal became a casualty of modernization.

In commenting upon his life's work several years before his death John Adams wrote:

> When I am dead, if men can say
> He helped the world upon its way.
> With all his faults of word and deed,
> Mankind did have some little need
> Of What he gave - then in my grave
> No greater honor shall I crave.

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